

THE PRESENT-DAY KU KLUX KLAN
MOVEMENT

REPORT

U.S. Congress BY THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
NINETIETH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

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H. Con. Res. 781

Passed August 1, 1968

Ninetieth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fifteenth day of
January, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight

Concurrent Resolution

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),
That there be printed as a House document with three thousand addi-
tional copies for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities;
the publication entitled "The Present-Day Ku Klux Klan Movement,"
Ninetieth Congress, first session.

Attest:

W. PAT JENNINGS,

Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Attest:

FRANCIS R. VALEO,
Secretary of the Senate.

II

CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword.....	1
Chapter I. Historical Background.....	3
Chapter II. Organizations Comprising the Modern Klan Movement.....	17
Chapter III. Secrecy and Ritual of the Klans.....	63
White Knights of Ku Klux Klan directive entitled "Secrecy" (Harold Delk Exhibit No 1—January 14, 1966).....	70
Chapter IV. Klan Objectives, Real and Imaginary.....	75
Chapter V. Public Klan Activity.....	78
Chapter VI. Klans as Purveyors of Violence.....	96
Chapter VII. Background of Some Klan Officers and Members.....	125
Chapter VIII. Summary.....	136
Appendix:	
Chart of Klaverns of Existing Klan Organizations, 1964-1966.....	145
Executive Lecture of March 1, 1964 (Burrel White Exhibit No. 2— January 13, 1966).....	164
Imperial Executive Order, May 3, 1964 (Burrel White Exhibit No. 1— January 13, 1966).....	169
Harassment (James Jones Exhibit No. 34—October 21, 1965).....	172
Articles of Incorporation, U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. (Wm. Daniel Exhibit No. 1—November 1, 1965).....	174
Articles of Incorporation, Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc. (Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 2— October 19, 1965).....	177
Constitution and Laws of the United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 3—October 19, 1965).....	181
Constitution of White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi (Gorden Lackey Exhibit No. 2—January 12, 1966).....	253
WASP, Inc., bulletin (Sam Bowers Exhibit No. 4—February 1, 1966).....	293
Mississippi White Caps bulletin (Sam Bowers Exhibit No. 3—Feb- ruary 1, 1966).....	295
Konstitution of the Original Ku Klux Klan, Realm of Louisiana (Murry Martin Exhibit No. 2—January 4, 1966).....	297
Charter of Original Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc. (B. J. Saucier Exhibit No. 1—January 7, 1966).....	320
Charter of National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. (James Venable Exhibit No. 1—February 15, 1966).....	325
Certificate of Authority for National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., to do business in North Carolina.....	329
Charter of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Ohio, Inc. (Bobby Stephens Exhibit No. 2—February 10, 1966).....	332
Charter of Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, Inc. (James Venable Exhibit No. 3—C—February 15, 1966).....	335
Articles of Incorporation of Improved Order of the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.....	339
Oath used by United Klans of America, Inc., and others (Robert Shelton Exhibit No. 4—October 19, 1965).....	343
The Seven Symbols of The Klan—UKA leaflet (Allen Bayne Exhibit No. 3—November 2, 1965).....	347
Petition for and Order of Incorporation of Clayton Civic Club, Inc. (Wesley Bailey Exhibit No. 1—November 2, 1965).....	353
Articles of Incorporation of New Hanover County Improvement Association, Inc. (Richard Constantineau Exhibit No. 2—October 25, 1965).....	356

Appendix—Continued	Page
Charter of Incorporation of Adams County Civic & Betterment Association (Paul Foster Exhibit No. 2—February 3, 1966)-----	359
Articles of Incorporation of Anti-Communist Christian Association (Saxon Farmer Exhibit No. 1—January 5, 1966)-----	362
The Principle of the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—UKA leaflet (Allen Bayne Exhibit No. 1—November 2, 1965)-----	366
Index-----	i

The House Committee on Un-American Activities is a standing committee of the House of Representatives, constituted as such by the rules of the House, adopted pursuant to Article I, section 5, of the Constitution of the United States which authorizes the House to determine the rules of its proceedings.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 90TH CONGRESS

HOUSE RESOLUTION 7, JANUARY 10, 1967

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-ninth Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, be, and they are hereby, adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Ninetieth Congress * * *

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

* * * * *

FOREWORD

This report presents some of the evidence regarding modern ku klux klan operations which the committee obtained as a result of a full-scale investigation during the 89th Congress.

In order to compile this evidence, the committee had to penetrate a curtain of secrecy which surrounds the innermost workings of a klan organization.

Relatively few klansmen interrogated by the committee showed any willingness to violate their klan oath to "die rather than divulge" information about the organization. The committee nevertheless gained considerable insight into the functioning of a klan through the cooperation of those klansmen, past and present, who were willing to testify in executive and public sessions or furnish information to committee investigators. Case studies of individuals and organizations selected as targets by klan activists were also illuminating.

Members of the investigative staff conducted field investigations in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas, as well as in such Northern States as New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Ohio. I will not attempt to describe all of the facets pursued and difficulties encountered in the course of the intensive staff work from the time the committee approved a formal inquiry in March 1965 until the start of public hearings in October of that year. The results which are summarized in this report should demonstrate that the investigation was painstaking, thorough, and extremely productive. I would like to express at this time, however, the committee's appreciation of the wholehearted cooperation it received from many law enforcement agencies.

The purpose of the investigation was to give Congress facts which would aid it in the enactment of any remedial legislation which might be considered necessary to deal with problems created by klan activity in the United States. This report has the same purpose.

What kind of facts must Congress have to determine whether or not legislative action may be called for in this area? As I repeatedly stressed in the course of the committee's lengthy investigation, Congress should be informed with respect to the purposes of klans, the manner in which they are organized, how they are controlled, their strength and their scope, and the methods by which they seek to carry out their objectives. This report includes the committee's findings on all of these subjects.

The committee also offers some general conclusions regarding the problems raised by klan activity, which I believe are inescapable when the evidence is reviewed.

The facts set forth in this report are based on information acquired by the committee through early 1967. The bulk of the evidence, however, is contained in the record of public investigative hearings con-

ducted by a subcommittee of this committee in the period between October 19, 1965, and February 24, 1966. The subcommittee sat for 36 days to interrogate a total of 187 witnesses regarding the evidence which had been amassed by committee investigators. Thousands of substantiating documents obtained by the committee staff were made part of this hearing record.

Officers of the seven most active klan organizations, as well as rank-and-file klansmen alleged to have engaged in organized terrorism, were given an opportunity during the hearings to deny, qualify, confirm, or explain klan activity about which they possessed personal knowledge. A majority chose to invoke constitutional privileges against self-incrimination. Much productive testimony was nevertheless received from a number of present or former klan officers and members, law enforcement officials, and private citizens who have been victims of klan activity.

When the committee voted on March 30, 1965, to undertake a formal investigation into ku klux klan organizations, it was concerned about a substantial upsurge in klan membership and activity during the preceding year. The klan movement had actually been on the upswing since 1961, but its growth prior to 1964 was slow and uneven, and its activity pretty much localized.

The movement was still expanding when the committee began its public hearings on the klans in the fall of 1965. Shortly thereafter, however, an abatement of klan activity was observed, due not only to a customary seasonal decline, but also to a decision by many klans to "lie low" while congressional hearings were in progress. Klan membership also dropped during the winter months of 1965-1966, a fact which I believe may be attributed at least in part to the facts about the movement then being aired through the medium of the committee's hearings. Unfortunately, by the summer of 1966, klan activity and membership were once more on the rise. Whereas the upsurge in the early 1960's was viewed as a response to civil rights demonstrations in the South, the latest gains appear to have been stimulated to a great extent by riotous situations in northern cities.

The committee held legislative hearings on bills to curb klan-type excesses in July of 1966 and subsequently reported H.R. 16606 with amendments. I had introduced that bill, the "Organizational Conspiracies Act," in the hope that, if enacted, it would contribute significantly toward eliminating, or at least curbing, terrorist activities of the type engaged in by klans. Inasmuch as there was no action on the bill, I have reintroduced it in the Ninetieth Congress in slightly amended form. This bill, H.R. 7025, the "Organizational Conspiracies Act of 1967," was reported by the committee on September 19.

Whether or not my bill is enacted into law, it is my hope that the evidence amassed by the committee will aid the Congress and also the American people, who—in the final analysis—will determine if secret, terroristic organizations can thrive in a democratic society.

EDWIN E. WILLIS, *Chairman.*

THE PRESENT-DAY KU KLUX KLAN MOVEMENT

CHAPTER I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Present-day klan organizations customarily dedicate themselves to commemorating the achievements of the Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction era and to perpetuating the principles of the first phalanx of nightriders to appear on the American scene.

Modern klans furthermore promise to save the Nation just as their forerunners allegedly saved the Nation following the Civil War.

Some reference to historical antecedents is therefore essential to understand the activities of klansmen in the 20th century.

THE RECONSTRUCTION KLAN

The six Confederate Army veterans credited with originating the Ku Klux Klan on Christmas Eve of 1865 in Pulaski, Tenn., are not memorialized in current klan literature. These young men had adapted the Greek word for circle (kuklos) in christening their new organization. They had devised mystical titles and a ritual for a membership sworn to secrecy. And they were responsible for converting bed linen into a means of disguise. Their purpose, however, was reputedly pure amusement.

The organization to which modern klansmen pay homage was the Ku Klux Klan headed by Nathan Bedford Forrest, which officially operated in at least nine Southern States from 1867 to 1869 and unofficially for some years thereafter.

The conversion of klan purposes from amusement to terrorism had already been demonstrated by the time representatives of various local klan "dens" held a unifying convention in Nashville, Tenn., in 1867 and elected former Confederate Army General Forrest as their grand wizard. Stimulative of the klan's new purposes were a series of laws enacted by the U.S. Congress beginning in 1866 which sought to bestow civil rights on the recently freed slaves, and the Reconstruction Act of March 1867 which substituted military governments for the locally created governments in most of the former secessionist States.

"Maintenance of the supremacy of the white race" was selected as the "main and fundamental objective" of the Ku Klux Klan led by General Forrest. Membership was restricted to those who would oppose not only Negro "social and political equality" but also the Radicals then dominant in the U.S. Congress who were to be defeated in order to "restore State sovereignty." A set of outwardly laudable aims adopted by the organization called for support of the U.S. Constitution, assistance in execution of all constitutional laws, protection of the weak and innocent, relief of the injured and oppressed, and succoring of the unfortunate, especially widows and orphans. (The same objectives have been repeated almost word for word by succeed-

ing klan organizations up to the present time; the exception being that Radical is spelled with a small "r" in the contemporary situation.)

By the autumn of 1868, General Forrest estimated klan membership at 550,000. Although he claimed to have disbanded the organization early the following year on the grounds that it was no longer needed for "self-protection," ku klux klan terrorism continued to mount over the next few years to such a degree that the President and Members of Congress demanded action to remedy the "insecurity of life and property" in some of the Southern States.

The Congress acted against racial violence in three civil rights laws, loosely known as the Ku Klux Klan Acts. Section 6 of an act of May 31, 1870, provided criminal penalties for persons who conspire or who go in disguise on the public highways or on the premises of another with intent to deprive him of rights and privileges granted by the Constitution or laws of the United States. The voting safeguards set forth in other sections of this act were amended and supplemented by an act of February 28, 1871. Finally, on April 20, 1871, Congress approved an act enforcing the provisions of the 14th amendment which included, among other things, Presidential authority to use military force to prevent interference with court civil rights orders.¹

As the President signed the third act directed against the Ku Klux Klan, a joint congressional committee of 7 Senators and 14 Representatives was organized to investigate the secret order. Formally known as the Joint Select Committee on the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, this investigating committee held 57 days of hearings in Washington, D.C., in addition to sending subcommittees to take testimony in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi. Although Grand Wizard Forrest refused to cooperate with the committee—even refusing to admit membership in or firsthand knowledge of a ku klux klan—testimony taken by the committee provided a grisly record of violence engaged in by the masked bands.

A RECORD OF VIOLENCE

Killings and floggings of Negroes and whites, the burning of schools and churches, and the hounding of individuals from their communities are among the outrages recorded in 12 printed volumes of the committee's hearings. A majority report issued by the committee on February 19, 1872, described the Ku Klux Klan as "a fearful conspiracy against society, committing atrocities and crimes that richly deserve punishment."—The report also accused the klan of demoralizing society and holding men silent by the terror of its acts and its powers for evil. Continuance of the special powers granted to the President by the Ku Klux Klan Act of April 30, 1871, was recommended. A minority report, which took issue with the majority as to the causes, purpose, and scope of klan activity, nevertheless declared—

* * * we do not intend to deny that bodies of disguised men have, in several of the States of the South, been guilty of the most flagrant crimes, crimes which we neither seek to palliate nor excuse * * *.

¹ These are the only laws specifically directed against the ku klux klan ever enacted by Congress. Little remains of this Reconstruction era legislation. Among the few survivors is the section dealing with private racial violence which is now contained in title 18, United States Code, at section 241. Recent Federal prosecution of a number of klansmen under this section of the code is discussed in Chapter VIII.

Historians have suggested a combination of reasons for the eventual decline of the Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction period: (1) growth of public sentiment in the South against activities of masked terrorists; (2) State, and even more particularly Federal legislation, under which martial law was declared and hundreds of alleged klansmen arrested in one State; and (3) so-called changed historical conditions which included the gradual restoration of segregation-oriented State governments. The last factor was one of the bases for klan claims in later years that the post-Civil War klan had achieved its objectives and "saved the South" (or the entire "Nation" as modern klan leaders prefer to put it.)

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, 1915-44

In 1915 the klan was exhumed by "Colonel" William Joseph Simmons, a native of Alabama who had previously been engaged in soliciting members for fraternal organizations for a fee.

The spirit of fraternalism was so shrewdly exploited by the new klan organization that millions of members were enrolled in almost every State of the Union before it declined and eventually dissolved in 1944.

As Simmons explained to the House Committee on Rules inquiring into the revived klan, his decision to launch an organization known as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was put into effect in October 1915 at a meeting (in Atlanta, Ga.) attended by 34 residents of the State of Georgia. A charter signed by the secretary of state of Georgia was issued in December, and another charter was granted by the Superior Court of Fulton County, Ga., on July 1, 1916, for what purported to be a purely benevolent and charitable operation.

After "resurrecting" the klan, Simmons admittedly proceeded to "reconstruct" and "remodel" the organization.²

The organizational structure of the new Knights—involving an autocratic hierarchy of officials on national, State, "province" and local levels—was borrowed from the Reconstruction klan. "The government of this order shall ever be military in character, especially in its executive management and control," asserted the constitution of Simmons' klan. Simmons' authority as the imperial wizard, he told congressional investigators, could be compared with that of a general in an army.

Simmons did, however, select new titles for most of the klan officialdom. He also prescribed rules for the functioning of the organization on its various levels and an elaborate ritual to be followed at local klan meetings and initiations. These were published and protected by copyright. These rules and ritual, together with a lengthy new oath swearing klansmen to obedience and secrecy, are being used today with only minor modifications by such organizations as the United Klans of America, Inc., and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.³

The first klan organization of the 20th century vowed that it would commemorate the "service" and "achievement" of the Ku Klux Klan of

² The changes were reflected in "Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Incorporated)," copyright 1921 by the Knights of the KKK, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.

³ One of the exceptions is the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, whose operations will be discussed in subsequent sections of this report.

the Reconstruction period and perpetuate its ideals. A booklet, "Ideals of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," spelled out the racial ideals which were inherited:

This is a White Man's organization, exalting the Caucasian Race and teaching the doctrine of White Supremacy. * * * All of Christian Civilization depends upon the preservation and upbuilding of the White Race * * *.

Any effort to permit "blacks or any other color" to share in the control of this "White Man's Republic" would constitute "an invasion of our sacred constitutional prerogatives and a violation of divinely established laws," the booklet further declared.

PATRIOTISM AND PROFIT

A number of additional objectives were introduced by the Simmons' klan in an effort to broaden the klan's appeal. Thus, the klan's constitution and laws listed as its No. 1 purpose the cultivation and promotion of patriotism. Recruiting literature issued by the organization in 1917 described the klan's "paramount feature" as "active, pure patriotism," and declared it was proud to carry on the traditions of its 19th century forebears because the latter were "paragons of patriotism." Simmons gave secondary emphasis to the charity allegedly dispensed by the klan; in third spot was its provision for "real fraternity" in which "mystery and action" would be combined with "wholesome mirth."⁴

The so-called patriotism of the klan was allegedly expressed by its uncompromising defense of "a pure Americanism, untrammelled by alien influences." Alien influences from which the Republic was to be protected were expanded by the revived klan to include not only the "inferior colored races" but also the Roman Catholic, Jewish, and foreign-born minorities within the United States.

Another new feature of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was its commercialism. Simmons advertised his Knights as an organization "founded and operated by consecrated business brains." His office of imperial wizard was guaranteed revenue from a percentage of initiation fees (klectokons); a monthly per capita tax on the membership (imperial tax); and profits from the sale of robes and other regalia, jewelry, stationery, etc. Initiation fees were described as "donations" and not reportable as taxable income in the event anyone questioned the right of the klan to tax exemption as a fraternal and charitable organization.

The services of professional publicists, Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler, in the period 1920-23 reputedly helped propel the Knights into a nationwide role. High-powered publicity represented the klan as having an answer to both real and imaginary problems of society, as teams of professional organizers fanned out into Northern and Western States as well as the South. (Clarke's organizing department was rewarded with 80 percent of each \$10 initiation fee.) Simmons told the House Committee on Rules that within 16 months after

⁴ "The ABC of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," leaflet copyrighted 1917 by W. J. Simmons, Atlanta, Ga. The same three purposes—patriotism, benevolence and fraternity—are listed in the same order of priority in recruiting literature currently being circulated by the largest of the existing klan organizations, the United Klans of America, Inc. See "An Introduction to the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," a leaflet with the imprint of the United Klans of America, Inc., Suite 401, Alston Bldg., Tuscaloosa, Ala.

he enlisted the services of Clarke and Tyler, klan membership increased from 5,000 to almost 100,000.

The House committee questioned the imperial wizard during 3 days of public hearings on the ku klux klan in October 1921. The committee lacked authority to administer oaths and its hearings predated by several years the peak of klan strength in the United States. In addition to hearing Members of Congress who had introduced resolutions against the KKK, the committee received an account of investigations conducted by staff members of the *N.Y. World*, and by a U.S. postal inspector, and heard contradictory accounts of the klan purposes from Imperial Wizard Simmons and one of his kleagles (organizers) who had defected. Charges by the other witnesses that the klan was making "millions" out of spreading racial and religious hatred and being credited with acts of violence in many States were blandly denied by the imperial wizard.

THE KLAN AS A NATIONAL OPERATION

By 1924, the Knights activity had extended to the four corners of the Nation. States such as Maine, Oregon, and California housed units of the hooded order, which attained an overall membership of between 3 million and 5 million. While historians differ on total membership, they agree that the klan rolls were larger in certain Northern States (Indiana and Ohio for example) than in any State south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Activities of the Knights varied from State to State, and within various counties of the same State. Murders committed by hooded bands were reported in some areas in the early 1920's, while in other areas the klan's public image was confined to ceremonial parades and rallies with the distinctive burning of a wooden cross, and intense "politicking." Dynamitings and bombings were also reported, but the most common form of violence attributed to the modern klan was kidnaping of persons who were then flogged and/or tarred and feathered.

Although victims did include Negroes attempting to register other Negroes to vote, historians have observed that many of the persons singled out for punishment by the hooded order were men and women of white Protestant stock allegedly guilty of violating some "moral" law. Repeated incidents are cited of the flogging of persons because they allegedly gambled, dealt in liquor, peddled dope, or deserted a spouse.

Among the more "refined" forms of intimidation practiced by the modern klan were boycotts of businesses owned by Catholics or Jews, and campaigns to oust Roman Catholic public school teachers and persons of Catholic or Jewish faiths holding elected positions. Meanwhile, klansmen entered politics and used the labels of both major political parties to put klansmen in local sheriff and police departments, courts, and State legislatures. Klansmen allegedly served as Governors in three States, as attorney general for another State, in addition to obtaining seats in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives before the klan's fortunes declined in the last half of the 1920's.

In the mid-1920's, a number of States had adopted antimask laws in an effort to curb klan violence; one State also introduced laws mak-

ing even threats by a masked person a felony, and requiring a registration of klan membership. Convictions for vigilante activity became more frequent than acquittals in some areas. Meanwhile, klan leadership was engaged in internal struggles over power and division of rich financial rewards (Colonel Simmons himself had been ousted from the wizardship by a Texan, Hiram Wesley Evans, in a power play in November 1922). The publicity given to the venality and immorality of certain klan leaders was costly in terms of membership. By 1928, the invisible empire was estimated to have shrunk to 200,000 or 300,000 members.

THE INTRODUCTION OF ANTICOMMUNISM

During the 1930's the greatly reduced empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan picked up an additional alleged purpose—opposition to communism. By June 1939, when James A. Colescott of Indiana succeeded Evans in the office of imperial wizard, a "primary" aim of the Knights was "mopping up the cesspools of communism in the United States."

In actuality, the Knights introduced a practice—continued by klansmen to the present day—of exploiting American antipathy to a totalitarian system of government in order to advance the klan's basic objectives directed against certain American minority groups. This conclusion is inescapable in view of the misdirection of much of the klan's fight against communism. Klan propagandists, for example, issued warnings to the effect that Communists advocated racial equality. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, then conducting voter registration drives, was unjustly accused by the klan of being a Communist organization, and the public was told to beware of the Congress of Industrial Organizations on the grounds that the CIO was "teaching and practicing communism" by trying to place white workers on a level with the Negroes. Klan distortions and falsifications of Communist problems can be understood only in the context of the klan's avowed program of opposition to registration of Negro voters, appointment of Negroes to "any official capacity in connection with government affairs," and other threats to "white supremacy."

Jews and aliens were also attacked on new grounds of alleged ties with the Communist Party. Only Catholics were credited by the klan with having their own conspiracy, independent of Moscow, to "capture the Government of the United States," and "destroy America."

The Knights' position was spelled out in its official publication, *The Fiery Cross*, and other klan documents supplied to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities by Imperial Wizard Colescott during a third congressional inquiry into the klan.

Colescott appeared before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on January 26, 1942. The special committee had been receiving sporadic testimony regarding ku klux klan activities since 1938 when it included the klan in a broad investigation into "Nazi, Fascist, and antiracial" organizations.⁵ The testimony had been

⁵ The special committee had reported that, although only some of the antiracial organizations were tinged with Nazi or fascist activity, they fell within the committee's purview because advocacy of racial and religious hatred was as "un-American" as advocacy of class hatred. (H. Rept. 2, Jan. 3, 1939, p. 10.)

largely confined to alleged cooperation between klansmen and Nazi elements in such areas as Los Angeles, Michigan, New York, and New Jersey. A rally of the Knights held at the German-American Bund's Camp Nordland in New Jersey in August 1940—which put klansmen and pro-Nazis on the same speaker's platform—drew principal attention in the committee's hearings. Colescott subsequently disavowed the rally which he had initially authorized. In defending his organization before the special House committee, Colescott produced klan literature demonstrating that Nazism and fascism were among the foreign "isms" officially opposed by the klan.

During the 1930's and early 1940's the press had continued to report cases of kidnappings and floggings by klansmen—although much more sporadically than in the preceding decade. For example, a series of approximately 30 floggings in the suburbs of Atlanta, Ga., culminated in March 1940 in a fatal whipping and a grand jury investigation. Nine klansmen were subsequently convicted on charges involving kidnapping and flogging. Following a line taken by earlier Wizards Forrest and Simmons, Colescott told the House investigating committee in 1942 that terrorism was contrary to klan principles. Klansmen found guilty in the aforementioned Atlanta flogging case were banished from the klan, Colescott maintained.

In view of the continuous terrorism practiced by members of klan organizations, such disavowals of violent intentions on the part of klan leaders are no more credible than Imperial Wizard Colescott's testimony that the Knights had "no fight with any minority group."

Unwilling to divulge the exact strength of the klan, Colescott nevertheless admitted that by 1942 the Knights had "very few paid-up members"; that the strongest realm had shifted from the North to the State of Florida; and that the national treasury had received less than \$10,000 in dues and initiation fees during the previous year. From his testimony, it was apparent that the invisible empire had dwindled to less than 10,000 members by World War II.

The organization known as the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., "officially" dissolved itself at an imperial klonvocation (national convention) held in Atlanta, Ga., on April 23, 1944, after the U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue filed a lien for \$685,305 in back taxes which the Knights presumably should have paid during its days of greatest financial success.

LOCALIZED KLAN OPERATIONS, 1944-60

Klansmen were relatively quiescent throughout World War II. Dr. Samuel Green, an obstetrician who was head of the Atlanta klavern of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan until its formal dissolution in the spring of 1944, had attempted to keep the klan alive as a "local" project. He assumed the title of grand dragon of an Association of Georgia Klans organized on May 21, 1944. It was not until October 1945, however, that his organization emerged into public view with what was heralded as the first public cross-burning since Pearl Harbor.

Klan activity had been continued in Florida by a Miami unit. In September 1944, a Ku Klux Klan of Florida, Inc., was chartered.

In September 1946, incorporation papers were filed by a new Alabama organization known as the Federated Ku Klux Klans, Inc.

When Dr. Green sought in the spring of 1946 to make use of the Georgia charter of the old Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the klan leader was blocked by a charter revocation suit instituted by the State of Georgia and by a lien for back taxes filed by the Internal Revenue Bureau. Dr. Green thereupon proceeded to extend the operations of his unchartered Association of Georgia Klans into the additional States of Tennessee, the Carolinas, Alabama, and Florida.

The U.S. Department of Justice was already investigating the revival of klan operations in seven States by the spring of 1946. Included were the States of California and New York, which shortly thereafter revoked the klan charters in order to block further activity in those areas.

Among complaints admittedly under investigation by the Justice Department were attempts by masked bands in Georgia to prevent Negroes from voting. From California in 1946 had come reports of the burning of a fiery cross in front of the store of a Catholic merchant. In Tennessee, a Jewish proprietor closed up shop after an intimidating klan cross-burning. In Georgia and Florida, complaints were received that Negroes were beaten or threatened with violence for engaging in union activity. Floggings of whites and Negroes by hooded night riders, who frequently charged their victims with some alleged "moral" offense, were reported periodically in the States of Georgia, Tennessee, and Florida throughout the years 1946-49.⁶

The decade ended with almost simultaneous outbursts of klan violence in four States. Violence in Florida during the spring and summer of 1949 included arson against both Negro and white homes, in addition to the usual flogging. Klansmen in Tennessee at the same time were reportedly responsible for a series of lashings, invasions of churches, and armed intimidations. In northwest Georgia, in April, a sheriff turned seven Negroes over to klansmen for flogging. Most publicized of the klan outrages were a series of terroristic acts, including kidnappings and floggings, which occurred in the counties around Birmingham, Ala., beginning in the spring of 1949. A subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, conducting hearings on civil rights proposals, interrogated several Birmingham area newsmen who had interviewed men and women threatened with violence or beaten by men in klan regalia. Most of these victims were white persons charged by the klan with offenses such as nonsupport of family, whiskey selling, etc.⁷

By mid-August 1949, a fatal heart attack had deprived the Association of Georgia Klans of its grand dragon. The organization declined rapidly thereafter, as new klans and leaders began emerging in various States. A splinter Original Southern Klans, Inc., had been created in southern Georgia in 1948. In 1949, Florida klan leader Bill Hendrix introduced his Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. A Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was formed in Alabama that same year to compete with the Federated KKK. It was the creation of an Association

⁶ A Federal grand jury report of Mar. 25, 1953, to the Judges of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida, Miami Division, described floggings which had been administered in central Florida by members of a "sadistic and brutal ku klux klan," virtually every year since 1943. The jury said it was reporting only those incidents which were admitted to by one or more klansmen.

⁷ Public hearings, Subcommittee No. 3 of House Judiciary Committee, 81st Cong., 1st sess., June 29, 1949.

of Carolina Klans in 1949, however, that set the stage for the most notable instance of klan terrorism in the early 1950's.

The Association of Carolina Klans under Grand Dragon Thomas Hamilton was credited with a 2-year wave of violence in North Carolina and South Carolina beginning in 1950. The violence and the klan itself were finally extinguished in 1952 when a number of klansmen were convicted in Federal court on charges of crossing State lines for kidnaping and flogging purposes and when the State of North Carolina undertook mass prosecution of floggers. The grand dragon was also jailed after pleading guilty to a State charge involving the beating of a Negro farm woman.

Reports from Florida and Georgia indicated that klansmen there were also continuing to assault and flog during the early 1950's. By the time Hamilton was convicted in North Carolina, however, most of the klan organizations which had sprung up in the 1940's were either extinct, or dormant,⁸ and relatively little activity was reported for the next few years. The next resurgence of the night-riding fraternity—generally attributed to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, on public school segregation—was destined to be directed by a new array of wizards and dragons and a new set of klan organizations.

THE KLAN UPSURGE AFTER 1954

The most successful klan operation of the late 1950's was masterminded by a paint sprayer employed in an Atlanta auto factory, Eldon Lee Edwards.

Edwards actually quietly organized his klan in 1953. In September of that year, he published and copyrighted a slightly revised version of klan ritual which had been written by Simmons for the old Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Edwards then used the organizational title, U.S. Klans of Georgia, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. It was not until the autumn of 1954, however, that Edwards began openly recruiting through the usual public rallies and cross burnings. His organizers were soon spreading out into such States as Alabama, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Texas.

Exploiting the Supreme Court decision of May 1954, Edwards proclaimed that the "white supremacy" objectives of his klan included "maintaining segregated schools at any and all cost." His printing presses ground out the traditional "hate" literature not only against Negroes but also against Jews, Catholics, and "foreigners."

On October 24, 1955, Edwards obtained a charter from the State of Georgia to do business as an alleged "social and charitable" enterprise. Reflecting his proclaimed conviction that times were ripe for a national klan, the title of the incorporated organization was altered to U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

This committee found no evidence that the U.S. Klans actually managed to organize branches in more than nine States. Early organizational efforts in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas were later supplemented by forays into Florida, North Carolina, Louisiana and Arkansas. Evidence that these efforts were at

⁸ An exception was the Association of Florida Ku Klux Klan, which was organized by William J. Griffin, of Tampa, in July 1953 and was disbanded by him in August 1955.

least financially rewarding was provided by Imperial Wizard Edwards' announcement in November 1958 that land had been purchased in Atlanta for the erection of an "imperial palace" for the U.S. Klans.

More than a score of smaller klans emerged in the late fifties to compete with the U.S. Klans in exploiting issues and fears raised by the decision of the Supreme Court. Many of the groups had splintered off from the larger organization led by Edwards. William Hendrix, Florida wizard, who had revived his Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan at this time, described klan operations in the 1950's as "a conglomeration of different organizations breaking up, going together, and not getting along."⁹

Among the independent klans competing with the Florida branch of the U.S. Klans—in addition to Hendrix's Knights—was the Florida Ku Klux Klan, which had been organized in 1955. In Louisiana, a Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was incorporated in 1956. Several years later an Original Ku Klux Klan under Imperial Wizard Roy E. Davis of Dallas, Texas, was recruiting in Texas and neighboring Arkansas. Texas was also the headquarters for an Aryan Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, while Arkansas produced such additional local orders as the Association of Arkansas Klans.

In Alabama, segments of the U.S. Klans withdrew in the fall of 1956 to form a Gulf Ku Klux Klan and a Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy. They were displaced the following year by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy, the Association of Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and the Alabama Ku Klux Klan, Inc. In 1959, William Hugh Morris revived his Federated Ku Klux Klans, which had units in Georgia as well as in Alabama. The Association of Alabama Knights established klaverns in the State of Mississippi, which in 1957 broke away to form an Independent Mississippi Klan.

The Association of South Carolina Klans was organized in the autumn of 1955. During the next few years additional organizations emerged in South Carolina under such titles as South Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc; National Ku Klux Klan; Independent Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; and Palmetto Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. To the north, Edwards' organization faced the rival North Carolina Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, created in 1956, and the National Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, formed in North Carolina the following year. Chattanooga, Tenn., was the home of the Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which had been organized by former members of a Chattanooga klavern of the U.S. Klans and received incorporation papers in October 1957. The Dixie Klans organized in Georgia and Alabama, as well as in Tennessee.

J. B. STONER, THE KLANS AND THE NATIONAL STATES RIGHTS PARTY

A Georgian reared in Tennessee was responsible for the most publicized, albeit least successful, challenge to Edwards' dominating role in klan affairs of the late fifties. Jesse Benjamin (J. B.) Stoner had been a klan organizer (kleagle) in Tennessee during the 1940's. He was also the founder in 1945 of the Stoner Anti-Jewish Party, later

known as the Christian Anti-Jewish Party. Stoner's extreme anti-Semitism—typified by his public advocacy of physical annihilation of "non-Christian Jews"—had led to his expulsion from the Associated Klans of America in January 1950.

In the summer of 1959, Stoner assumed the role of imperial wizard of a new Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with headquarters in Louisville, Ky. Within a few months, Stoner was publicly accusing the U.S. Klans of being a "Jew-dominated organization." Imperial Wizard Edwards retaliated by claiming to possess evidence that the Christian Knights advocated violence. During the following year, Stoner moved his headquarters to Atlanta, but his efforts from Edwards' stronghold fared so poorly that the Christian Knights was reduced to a paper organization in 1961.

Since 1959, Imperial Wizard Stoner had been contributing his talents to another extremist organization where his efforts were to prove more rewarding. This was the National States Rights Party, in which Stoner was officially installed as national vice chairman in 1964, in addition to being selected as the party's vice-presidential candidate in the national elections of that year.

The National States Rights Party was organized in 1958 as an avowed "white racist political party." Unlike most klans, it admitted Catholic and foreign-born members provided they accepted the National States Rights Party program which called for shipping all Negroes to Africa and deporting all Jews to an "isolated island." The National States Rights Party has gained considerable notoriety in recent years as a forum for inflammatory speeches against Negroes.¹⁰ A former klansman who was also active in the National States Rights Party shortly after its formation reported that the party attracted members apparently obsessed with hatred for Jews and that synagogues were among the targets of possible acts of violence discussed at secret National States Rights Party conclaves.

A dominant figure in the National States Rights Party is a chiropractor, Dr. Edward R. Fields, who presently holds the title of director. Originally headquartered in Jeffersonville, Ind., the organization moved its national office to Birmingham, Ala., in 1960. A third move, to Augusta, Ga., in the summer of 1965, found the National States Rights Party operating out of "joint offices" with J. B. Stoner, then billed as the National States Rights Party general counsel. The National States Rights Party's organizing drives have extended as far as California and Oregon in the West and New York State in the Northeast.

This committee's investigations into ku klux klan organizations revealed that the National States Rights Party has had both a cooperative and competitive relationship with the klans. The committee has received testimony regarding surreptitious efforts by the National States Rights Party soon after its formation to infiltrate and take over klan units. Nevertheless, officers and members of klan organizations often simultaneously hold office or membership in the National States

¹⁰ At an NSRP rally in Anniston, Ala., Oct. 20, 1964, J. B. Stoner's appeal to white persons to go into the streets and counter civil rights demonstrations was spiced with such remarks against the Negro as "the only good ones are dead ones." The "kill the Negro" refrain of another speaker on the NSRP circuit, Connie Lynch, is described in another section of this report.

⁹ William Hendrix testified July 20, 1965, in an executive hearing of this committee.

Rights Party without apparent conflict.¹¹ Joint klan-National States Rights Party rallies and an exchange of speakers have long been commonplace. The National States Rights Party's public position with respect to klans was presented by Director Fields at a United Klans rally in Anniston, Ala., May 9, 1965. "We look forward to even greater rallies and future cooperation with our fellow white fighters in the ku klux klan," Fields declared from the speaker's podium. Fields then marched in a klan parade which followed the rally and for which the Fields' organization had supplied parade signs and Confederate flags.

TERRORISM WITH INCREASING RELIANCE ON DYNAMITE

Numerous acts of violence involving racial issues occurred in various States of the South in the late 1950's. Klansmen participated in the terrorism, but it would be unreasonable to blame all or even most of the reprehensible deeds on members of the hooded fraternities. Difficulties in detecting, much less prosecuting, those responsible have forestalled any accurate assessment of the klan role in this violence.

Problems of detection have been aggravated by the increasing use of dynamite as an instrument of terror during this decade. A Federal grand jury which investigated bombings of a Negro housing project and the bomb deaths of NAACP leader Harry T. Moore and his wife in Florida in 1951 failed to identify the culprits, but had much to say against the growing use of explosives, which were easily acquired, and "destroy clues along with life and property."

This committee has received information indicating klan involvement in the violence that erupted in Montgomery, Ala., after a year-long Negro bus boycott and a round of court decisions culminated in the desegregation of the city's buses in December 1956. Violence had taken the form of beatings and sniper fire into buses in December. During the following month, four Negro Baptist churches and the homes of three bus boycott leaders were bombed. Members of the U.S. Klans were among those subsequently charged with complicity in the bombings. After two defendants were acquitted by a jury, however, the State dismissed charges against the remaining defendants.

The U.S. Klans imperial wizard had consistently proclaimed his klan to be a law-abiding organization. There is evidence that his position served as a restraint within certain realms under his command. There is also substantiation for Edwards' charge that certain acts of violence were the work of some of the many splinter klans operating

¹¹ "King Kleagles" William Hoff and Frank Rotella, Jr., headed United Klans operations in New York and New Jersey respectively late in 1965. Each concurrently served as director of the NSRP in his State. Eloise Witte, "empress" of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Ohio in 1965, at the same time presided over the Cincinnati chapter of the NSRP. In Jacksonville, Fla., during the same year, Willie Eugene Wilson had the dual role of exalted cyclops of a klavern of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan and director of the Duval County organization of NSRP.

Other individuals active in both the klan and NSRP settled for leadership functions in one of the organizations. In contrast to J. B. Stoner who abandoned a klan wizardship for national NSRP office, Roy E. Frankhouser graduated from an organizer in the NSRP to the grand dragon of the Pennsylvania Realm of the United Klans. Prior to his elevation to kleagle and then national "kladd" (conductor) of the United Klans during 1964, Robert M. Hudgins had been attending national meetings of the NSRP. Hudgins back in 1958 had been associated with both the NSRP and a klan known as the North Carolina Knights of the KKK.

The committee interrogated in public hearings the aforementioned Eloise Witte, Willie Eugene Wilson, J. B. Stoner, Roy Frankhouser, and Robert Hudgins. With the exception of Mrs. Witte, these witnesses uniformly responded to questions by invoking the fifth and other constitutional amendments.

in the same period. The dynamiting of a home in North Carolina in 1959, for example, was the work of a splinter from the U.S. Klans, according to evidence obtained by the committee. The perpetrators of this crime—who in this instance received prison sentences—were members of the Chessmen, an organization active in the Carolinas in the late fifties. The black shirts and masks sported by these klansmen earned them the nickname, Black Shirts. The attempted dynamiting of a Negro school near Charlotte, N.C., in February 1958 resulted in prison sentences for the grand wizard of the National Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and two of his henchmen.¹²

One of the most brutal displays of violence of the decade was carried out by members of a splinter from the Alabama section of the U.S. Klans, operating as the Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy. A Birmingham Negro was abducted in September 1957 and sexually mutilated in a klan headquarters ceremony aimed at testing the mettle of one of the klansmen. Six Confederate Knights were subsequently tried and convicted in this case.

Among floggings reported in this period was one administered in October 1956 by a mob led by members of the Florida Ku Klux Klan. The mob had raided a Wildwood, Fla., jail in order to "punish" a Negro who had requested confinement for his own protection. In December of the same year, members of a Camden, S.C., klan group which had split off from the Association of South Carolina Klans were involved in the flogging of a local high school teacher for alleged pro-integrationist remarks. Seven months later, the exalted cyclops of a Greenville, S.C., klavern of the Association of South Carolina Klans was part of a contingent of klansmen which flogged a local Negro who had been caring for several white youngsters while the father visited the mother in a city hospital. Prison sentences were meted out to the exalted cyclops and several of his colleagues in the last-named incident.

Klansmen continued to burn crosses before homes, schools, and churches from North Carolina to Alabama to register the klan's disapproval on issues involving race and personal morality. An apparent innovation in klan terror tactics was observed in Richfield, N.C., in the spring of 1959. Members of the Chessmen registered their objection to the hiring of Negroes at a sawmill by putting sand and sugar in the gas tank of an expensive engine at the mill.

KLANSMEN REGROUP FOR A NEW OFFENSIVE IN THE 1960's

There had been a marked decrease in klan activity—overt and covert—as the decade of the fifties drew to a close. However, the spread of civil rights demonstrations, such as the lunch counter "sit-ins" of 1960 and the "freedom" bus rides of 1961 throughout the South, provided a stimulus for another klan resurgence.

This latest klan offensive is being conducted for the most part by a new array of klan organizations. Of the more than a score of klans organized during the late fifties, approximately eight continued active as late as 1961 and only half of the eight functioned at the time of this committee's investigations and hearings into klan activity in 1965. They are the U.S. Klans, the Association of South Carolina

¹² The bombing of an Atlanta synagogue in October 1958 brought members of the newly formed National States Rights Party before the courts, but the defendants were acquitted on grounds of insufficient evidence.

Klans, the Dixie Knights, and the Association of Arkansas Klans, whose current, severely circumscribed operations will be discussed in the following chapter.

A reorganization within the invisible empire had been precipitated by the death in August 1960 of the imperial wizard of the U.S. Klans. A special convention of what was then the largest and oldest klan selected Georgia Grand Dragon Robert L. "Wild Bill" Davidson to succeed the late Imperial Wizard Eldon Edwards. Edwards' widow had backed the runner-up in the election and would not accept defeat. During the internal wrangling which followed, Mrs. Edwards' defeated candidate, Rev. E. E. George, circulated complaints that Davidson was not providing sufficient financial compensation to Mrs. Edwards. The Davidson camp, which included the new Georgia Grand Dragon Calvin Craig, responded that the klan treasury was empty when Davidson took over and that Edwards and his widow had used the U.S. Klans for personal gain. The Davidson group cited as evidence Mrs. Edwards' resort to legal action which resulted in a court declaration that approximately \$40,000 in klan real estate, as well as the copyrighted Kloran (book of klan ritual) and klan constitution, belonged to Edwards' personal estate.

At a klan rally in an Atlanta hotel in November 1960, Imperial Wizard Davidson boldly declared that klansmen would use buckshot if necessary to fight integration. Davidson was unable to endure the battle then raging within his own klan organization, however. His resignation was announced in February 1961, and the Reverend George promptly assumed the title of imperial wizard.

George's victory was a hollow one. The death of Edwards and the ensuing dissension had prepared most of the membership of the U.S. Klans to follow other leaders in newer and more dynamic klan organizations.

CHAPTER II. ORGANIZATIONS COMPRISING THE MODERN KLAN MOVEMENT

The fluidity which has characterized the klan movement since the breakup of Simmons' monolithic invisible empire in 1944 has continued to the present day.

During the reign of Simmons and his successors, to be a klansman meant membership in the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Today a klansman may be enrolled in any one of more than 15 different klan organizations in the United States.

The constant organization and disbandment of klans could still be observed during 1966. Although all such groups cling to similar white supremacist objectives, no one klan leader has emerged since 1944 with the ability to bring all klansmen together in a single organization. A number of reasons may be advanced for this multiplicity of klans.

Klan leaders seem to be in perpetual disagreement over the disposition of funds which begin flowing into klan coffers with the collection of the klansman's initiation fee. The rivalry among present-day klan leaders for their "fair share" of the financial rewards accruing from klan operations was demonstrated in the testimony and documentation introduced during the committee's public hearings on ku klux klan organizations in the winter of 1965-66.

An equally important factor in the splintering of klans has been the aspirations for power and authority on the part of erstwhile klan leaders. Disputes over the privilege of commanding a hierarchy of lower officers and an army of rank-and-file klansmen have proved irreconcilable.

When klan leaders publicly insist that their own organization is the only true descendant of the Simmons' klan and argue with other klan officers over "territorial" jurisdiction, it is apparent that they are attempting to disguise more basic differences involving money, power, or a third common cause of dissension—the tactical line to be taken by a klan in exploiting current issues.

The history of the movement since 1944 shows that klan groups have little disagreement over the issues they exploit for their own growth and enrichment. Judicial edicts and legislative enactments promoting constitutional rights, as well as the activities of private groups and individuals with similar objectives, have been seized upon by klan leaders as "issues" on which to campaign and grow. Klan resurgence as a reaction to the Supreme Court decision in 1954 on the subject of public school segregation has already been noted. Ten years later, klan leaders were similarly exploiting and thriving on issues arising from the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Contributing to continued divisions within the klan movement, however, was the failure of klan leaders to agree on a common course of action in response to klan-selected issues. The determination of courses of action inevitably involved decisions with respect to the de-

gree of militancy a klan group should display in its public or covert activity.

At the conclusion of the committee's public hearings on klan organizations in February 1966, 15 independent klans were in existence. They possessed in common certain ritualistic ceremonies, robes, and variations on the oath and constitution of the Simmons' Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. But they operated under separate sets of leaders and exhibited different degrees of militancy in their *modus operandi*. They also varied greatly in size and influence.

All but two of the 15 organizations have been active less than 10 years. The two exceptions—the U.S. Klans and Association of South Carolina Klans—have dwindled to relatively minor positions in the klan movement.

The 15 klans active in the United States early in 1966 were—

- Association of Arkansas Klans;
- Association of Georgia Klans;
- Association of South Carolina Klans;
- Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.;
- Improved Order of the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.;
- Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Florida);
- Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Florida);
- Mississippi Knights of the Ku Klux Klan;
- National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.;
- Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Louisiana);
- U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.;
- United Florida Ku Klux Klan;
- United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.;
- United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Florida); and the
- White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Mississippi).

It should be noted that, after the close of the committee's public hearings in February 1966, three separate groups splintered away from the United Klans of America and began operating as independent klans, while the aforementioned Mississippi Knights of the Ku Klux Klan for all practical purposes ceased to exist upon the death of its founder and leader.

The newest klans are—

(1) The Knights of the Green Forest, a small, militant group of ex-members of the United Klans of America's Realm of Mississippi who left that organization allegedly because of financial irregularities on the part of United Klans leaders in that State.

(2) The Maryland Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, also known as the Interstate Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, organized mainly through the efforts of Xavier Edwards, a former kleagle (organizer) for the United Klans of America in Maryland. Edwards' group left the parent organization when certain leaders of the Maryland Realm of the United Klans criticized Edwards for open association with and recruitment of members of the American Nazi Party into the Maryland klan.

(3) The Universal Klans of America, also referred to as The South, led by the United Klans former grand dragon for Louisiana, Jack Helm, and principally composed of former southern provinces of the Louisiana Realm of the United Klans.

This chapter will briefly examine each of the 15 klans in existence in February 1966 with respect to their formation, location, leadership, and the geographical distribution of the klaverns in which rank-and-file members meet. The committee also offers membership figures which it emphasizes are only estimates. They represent the committee's best judgment of active and continuing klan membership, without reference to the klans' own inflated membership claims.

In arriving at membership estimates, the committee relied chiefly on field investigators' reports and analyses of bank records. With respect to the latter source of information, the committee would like to observe that, from the very beginning of its investigation, it had subpoenaed records of bank accounts maintained by klan organizations on National, State, and klavern levels. From these sources, the committee continued to obtain information even after the close of its public investigative hearings in February 1966. These records, which included microfilmed copies of debit and credit items, enabled the investigative staff to identify many of the klan leaders as well as sources of income and recipients of funds.

For example, the committee determined that the main bank account of the United Klans of America was maintained in Tuscaloosa, Ala., under the cover name, "Alabama Rescue Service." The records of this account reflected, among other things, per capita dues of 50 cents a month from local klaverns to national klan headquarters.¹

Checks and money orders passing through such accounts in many instances identified not only officers of a klavern but also the official name and number of the klavern and the cover name behind which it sought to conceal its activity. In this sense, the bank records were an invaluable supplement to reports from investigators conducting on-the-spot investigations. Payments of per capita taxes by local klaverns were useful in supplementing investigative information regarding klavern membership. It was also possible to observe fluctuations in rank-and-file membership within a given State by the study of these records.

A total of 714 klaverns (local units of a klan) were found to be operative within the period 1964-1966. The figure includes 56 ladies auxiliaries, which were affiliated with the United Klans of America and located for the most part in the State of North Carolina. The committee estimates that a total of 16,810 individuals belonged to various klan organizations early in 1967, excluding ladies auxiliaries. Tabulations indicating the klan affiliation and geographical distribution of these klaverns and klansmen appear on pages 145-163 of this chapter.

Klan membership fluctuates according to the issues of the day as well as the seasons of the year. Membership swings up in the summer and down in the winter. The figure of 16,810 is nevertheless believed to be accurate as of January 1967, based on the klaverns which the committee has been able to identify. The committee does not assume that it has succeeded in identifying all local units of every existing klan organization, but its errors of omission are estimated to be less than 10 percent. In issuing such figures, the committee has attempted to provide an approximate idea of the strength and scope of organized klan activity in the United States in recent years.

¹ The tax was increased from 25 cents to 50 cents in September 1964, although it was not effective nationally until May 1965.

U.S. KLANS, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC.

The U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., continued to operate in 1966, even though this once powerful organization was reduced to a single klavern with a steadily dwindling membership.

Its headquarters is located at 1121½ Harvard Avenue in College Park, Ga., not far from Atlanta. It utilizes post office box 253 in College Park for mailing purposes.²

The preeminent role enjoyed by the U.S. Klans in the 1950's until the death of its imperial wizard, Eldon L. Edwards, in August 1960, has been described in the preceding chapter.³ The internal wrangling which broke out after the death of Edwards led to the splintering away of most of the U.S. Klans original membership. Actually, however, the first cracks in the U.S. Klans empire had appeared while Edwards was still in command.

When Jack and Harry Brown, leaders of the U.S. Klans in Tennessee, were expelled from the organization in 1957, they proceeded to organize the Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. They took with them several whole klaverns in the Chattanooga area, several in northwestern Georgia, and several in the area of Anniston, Ala. Also in 1957, Edwards was having trouble with his grand dragon in Alabama, Robert M. Shelton, who today is the imperial wizard of the United Klans of America. Edwards found it necessary to replace Shelton as grand dragon after a dispute over the manner in which Shelton was reporting funds from the Alabama Realm. Shelton was reinstated, only to be dismissed once again by Edwards. Shelton retaliated this time by taking out incorporation papers in May of 1960 for a new organization known as the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Shelton took most of the Alabama membership of the U.S. Klans into this new klan.

As previously noted, Robert "Wild Bill" Davidson was elected as Eldon Edwards' successor later in 1960, in spite of efforts by Edwards' widow to install E. E. George in the imperial wizardship. The continued internal dissension led to the announcement by Davidson and his Georgia Grand Dragon, Calvin Craig, on February 18, 1961, that they were resigning from the U.S. Klans. On February 21, a new organization known as the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., was formed by the Davidson-Craig faction. A large portion of the membership of the Georgia Realm of the U.S. Klans went over to the new organization.

E. E. George succeeded Davidson as imperial wizard of the U.S. Klans and remained in that position until October 1963, when the U.S. Klans suffered another major split in its ranks.

On October 26, 1963, Imperial Wizard George received notification that H. J. Jones, exalted cyclops of Klavern 297 in College Park, Ga., had called a klonvokation at which Jones was elected to the imperial wizardship of the U.S. Klans. Charges within the klan that George had misused klan funds and had failed to promote the interests of the organization, allegedly prompted this action.

Following this notification, George and his followers in the U.S. Klans left the organization and formed a new klan known as the Improved Order of the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

All of the then existing klaverns of the U.S. Klans, with the exception of Klavern 297 in College Park, Ga., followed George into his new organization.

Since that time the entire U.S. Klans has consisted of that single klavern. The membership was approximately 50 as of January 1967 and still dwindling.

Finances are small and meetings are held at irregular intervals. Committee investigation established, nevertheless, that certain members of the U.S. Klans attended demolition and guerrilla warfare-type training sponsored by another klan organization on October 17, 1964, at Stockbridge, Ga.

The U.S. Klans has on several occasions sent representatives to meet with the National Association of Ku Klux Klan, headed by James R. Venable. It should be noted that no current members or officers of the U.S. Klans were subpoenaed as witnesses in the committee's recent hearings on klan organizations.

UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC.

The origin of this presently most powerful of klan organizations as a splinter from the U.S. Klans has already been noted. When Imperial Wizard Robert "Wild Bill" Davidson and Georgia Grand Dragon Calvin F. Craig resigned from the U.S. Klans in February 1961, they were almost immediately heralded as holding the same exalted offices in a new klan.

The Superior Court of Fulton County, Ga., on February 21, 1961, issued a charter to the new organization in the name of the Invisible Empire, United Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc.⁴ Although the organization is commonly known as the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. (UKA), the name as it appeared on the charter has never been officially changed. The annual registration statement filed by the klan with the State of Georgia in November 1964 uses the title in the charter.

The original incorporators of the UKA were Robert Day, George Sligh, William A. Daniel, Sr., and M. Wesley Morgan, all ex-members of the U.S. Klans in Georgia.

Membership in this new organization was immediately bolstered by a mass defection, within the State of Georgia, from the U.S. Klans. Whole klaverns, not only in the Atlanta area where the klan had the strongest concentration of membership at that time but also in outlying areas in Georgia, simply changed their designation from U.S. Klans to UKA.

Davidson remained as imperial wizard until approximately April 1, 1961. He allegedly left the organization because of some disagreement over UKA participation in klan demonstrations against integration of the State university at Athens, Ga.

UKA membership was confined to Georgia in the spring of 1961 and its headquarters was located in Atlanta. There were indications that negotiations were then being conducted between the Georgia

² The U.S. Klans petition for a charter, granted by the State of Georgia on Oct. 24, 1955, is reproduced as an exhibit on p. 174 of the appendix to this report. The original incorporators were Eldon L. Edwards, the late M. Wesley Morgan, and William A. Daniel, Sr., more recently a member and official of the United Klans of America in the State of Georgia.

³ See pp. 11ff.

⁴ Reproduced on p. 177 of the appendix.

organization and the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan headed by Robert Shelton to merge the two organizations. It should be recalled that Shelton, prior to incorporating the Alabama Knights, had served as grand dragon for the Alabama Realm of U.S. Klans. His dismissal by Eldon Edwards not only involved Shelton's failure to report klan funds but also his failure to control the increased violence of the Alabama contingent of the U.S. Klans.

A meeting in Indian Springs, Ga., on July 8, 1961, brought together Shelton and other representatives of the Alabama Knights, Craig and other officials of the Georgia-based UKA, and a smattering of officials from various splinter klan groups in other sections of the South. It was agreed at this conference to merge the Alabama Knights with the UKA. A small number of klansmen from South Carolina, North Carolina, and other Southern States also entered the UKA as a result of this meeting. Robert Shelton emerged as the new imperial wizard of the United Klans of America and Calvin Craig remained grand dragon for Georgia.

From that day, this organization gradually expanded into the largest and most powerful klan in existence in the United States.

Using a white supremacy slogan and exploiting sentiment against integration, civil rights measures, and increasing drives for Negro equality, the United Klans of America established State organizations in the following 19 States:

Georgia	Mississippi	Pennsylvania
Alabama	Louisiana	New York
South Carolina	Texas	New Jersey
North Carolina	Arkansas	Indiana
Virginia	Maryland	Wisconsin
Florida	Ohio	
Tennessee	Delaware	

Committee investigation established that the bulk of UKA membership and activity is confined to the States which comprised the old Confederacy. Those realms outside this region have remained small in size and relatively ineffective. There is also evidence that some members have been recruited by the UKA in other Northern and Western States not officially designated as realms. Michigan is an example.⁵

UKA membership climbed steadily after July 1961, except for a brief decline from October 1965 to March 1966, due mainly to public hearings into ku klux klan activity by this committee. Since that time, however, there has been a substantial increase in UKA membership. It may be attributed for the most part to increased organizational activity, especially in North Carolina and Virginia where the growth rate is disturbingly great, and to strong reaction to riots and racial unrest which the klan leadership has been most adept at exploiting for its own ends in various sections of the South.

INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

From July 8, 1961, until the conclusion of the committee's hearings in February 1966, the headquarters of the UKA was located at 401 Alston Building, Tuscaloosa, Ala. Thereafter, the headquarters was

⁵ See p. 36 of this chapter for further reference to recruitment by the United Klans in Michigan.

transferred to Shelton's residence in Tuscaloosa. All realm (State) headquarters and other klan subdivisions are governed by the imperial wizard (national chairman or president) from this location.

The United Klans of America, like most of the other presently operating klans, has an organizational structure modeled in most respects upon the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan formed by William Simmons in 1915.

The "invisible empire" of the UKA is geographically coextensive with the United States—although the UKA by no means is in operation in every State. A realm, largest subdivision of the invisible empire, consists of a State. A "province," into which realms are subdivided, consists of a congressional district within a State. A klanton embraces the jurisdiction of a klavern, which is the local chapter and smallest unit of the invisible empire.⁶

At the top of the hierarchy of officials in the invisible empire is the imperial wizard, who is assisted by a cabinet (kloncilium) of 15 imperial officers known as genii. The UKA constitution recognizes the supremacy of the imperial wizard only in administrative matters. The genii and biennial conventions known as klonvokations are supposed to have a role in governing the order. In practice, the imperial wizard exercises absolute power. His edicts are followed without deviation in all echelons of the invisible empire. Although the constitution provides for a regular convening of klonvokations, none has been held since 1964 because the imperial wizard has not seen fit to summon such a meeting.

A kleagle or organizer is an appointed official whose duty is to recruit members on a regional basis. He is appointed by the imperial wizard who by virtue of office also holds the title of supreme kleagle.

A realm is commanded by a grand dragon and a cabinet of nine hydras. A province is headed by a great titan with the assistance of seven furies.

Each local klavern is headed by an exalted cyclops as chief officer, aided by 12 terrors. These terrors are⁷—

- klaliff (vice president);
- klokard (lecturer or teacher);
- kludd (chaplain);
- kligrapp (secretary);
- klabee (treasurer);
- kladd (conductor);
- klarogo (inner guard);
- klexter (outer guard);
- klokann (investigator), who serves on the klokann committee (a three-man board of investigators and auditors);
- night hawk (custodian of the fiery cross, which he carries in all ceremonies and public exhibitions, and custodian of applicants immediately prior to their initiation).

⁶ Some of Simmons' nomenclature has become outmoded. For example, he had designated a local unit as being a klan and its meeting place as a klavern. These designations still appear in the UKA constitution, even though klansmen today generally refer to the smallest subdivision of their organization as a klavern. The constitutions of the White Knights in Mississippi and the Original Knights in Louisiana reflect the modern usage. So will this report.

⁷ The nomenclature for the officers assisting the exalted cyclops is also used for officials assisting the imperial wizard. To distinguish them from klavern officers, imperial is added to the title; e.g., imperial klaliff, imperial klokard.

The same offices, with the exception of the klokann committee, appear on the State level. They are distinguished by the addition of grand to the title (grand klaliff, grand klokard, etc.).

Klaverns vary considerably in numerical strength. Some have only a handful of members, while a few have as many as 200. The constitution of the UKA⁸ states that before a klavern is chartered by the imperial wizard there must be 25 or more members. Committee investigation has determined that in many cases the United Klans waived this requirement and issued charters to groups of four or five persons, in hopes that the membership would grow. In fact, most klaverns of the United Klans of America were found to have less than 25 active members even though they showed a "book membership" of many times that figure. Many of them, furthermore, had been in existence for a long period of time.

Klavern meetings are closed to all except members and visiting klansmen. There is wide variety in the meeting places. Klansmen have met in private homes, clubhouses, stores, barns, old farmsheds, and garages. Any room can be used so long as it is supplied with an altar on which lies a Bible opened at Romans 12, an American flag, an unsheathed sword, and a container of water. (Further details are available in the section dealing with klan ritual.)

The Imperial Wizard issued guidelines for the most effective operation of local klaverns in the printed manual, "The Klan In Action." The document informed klavern officers that the success of the klan's policies depended upon the performance of klavern committees. The manual listed 22 subjects with which klavern committees should concern themselves. While some committees were to deal with purely internal matters such as the budget and grievances, others had functions which experience shows tend to pit klansmen against the forces of law and order in local communities.

An intelligence committee, for example, was supposed to gather information regarding "enemies within and without" the klan. Membership of this committee was to be kept secret from others in the klavern. A propaganda committee was to maintain a watch on means of disseminating information or opinion in the community (the press, radio and public speakers, for example). The committee was to report on any form of "propaganda" adverse to the klan or the principles it espoused. The functions of a public schools committee included investigating and making reports on public school officials and teachers.

The United Klans, beginning in the summer of 1961 and continuing through 1963, conducted an intensive recruiting drive aimed ultimately at bringing the entire klan movement under the leadership of the UKA. This drive by the UKA to lure the members of other klans into its fold has met with considerable success. The United Klans has shown an organizational ability superior to that of other klan groups in the South, and for this reason has been able to attract many members from diverse klan groups and to reactivate many others formerly active in the klan movement.

Robert Shelton and organizers such as Calvin Craig, Robert Scoggin, of South Carolina, and J. Robertson Jones, of North Carolina, in their public promotional endeavors, increasingly tried to blur the traditional image of the klans as a band of violent, fanatical night riders and to emphasize the klan's role as one of political activists who alone could somehow stop Negro attempts at desegregation and equality. Actual recruiting practices, however, demonstrated that the

⁸ Reproduced as an exhibit in the appendix, p. 181.

UKA was accepting fanatical and violence-prone elements into its fold.

As the Negro drive for desegregation in the South manifested itself in a growing number of marches, demonstrations, and sit-ins, the klan's organizational drive picked up momentum in some areas of the South. Rallies became more frequent, new members were enrolled, as Shelton traveled extensively through the South propagandizing and recruiting for the klan. His grand dragons were doing the same in their respective States.

By late 1963, Shelton's UKA had become the dominant klan organization in North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, and was making inroads into the klan movements in Florida, Louisiana, and Texas. During the latter part of 1963, the UKA had an estimated 8,000 to 9,000 active members.

In the following year, the klans seized on a new issue, just as they had done in the period following the Supreme Court ruling in behalf of school desegregation in 1954. This issue was the Civil Rights Act of 1964, particularly that section of the bill dealing with public accommodations. Portraying the proposed passage of this bill as the beginning of the extinction of the white race and the start of Negro domination in the South, the UKA was able to attract considerable attention to itself and register substantial gains.

The committee found evidence of only two imperial klonvocations since the formation of the UKA in 1961.

One klonvocation was held on February 8 and 9, 1964, and the other on September 5 and 6, 1964. Both were held in a hotel in Birmingham, Ala., and both were represented to the hotel management as conventions of the Alabama Rescue Service.

The officers elected at these klonvocations were as follows:

Robert M. Shelton (Alabama), imperial wizard;
Robert Thompson (Georgia), imperial klaliff;
W. O. Perkins (Alabama), imperial kligrapp;
Frederick Smith (Alabama), imperial klabee;
Robert Collins (Georgia), imperial klokard;
George Dorsett (North Carolina), imperial kludd;
Robert Hudgins (North Carolina), imperial kladd;
Walter Brown (South Carolina), imperial klarogo;
Robert Korman (Florida), imperial klexter; and
Amos Pedigo (Tennessee), imperial night hawk.

To the best of the committee's knowledge, there has been no imperial klonvocation subsequent to September 1964. There have been three known changes in the above-listed imperial officers. In the summer of 1965, Melvin Sexton, a next-door neighbor of Shelton's, was appointed by Shelton to the post of imperial kligrapp (secretary). W. O. Perkins, the former kligrapp, took over Frederick Smith's position as imperial klabee (treasurer), also without benefit of formal election.

Imperial Wizard Shelton publicly announced in the spring of 1967 that he had banished George Dorsett, the imperial kludd (chaplain), from the United Klans organization.

ALABAMA REALM OF THE UKA

Having brought the existing klaverns of the Alabama Knights into the newly formed UKA, Imperial Wizard Shelton possessed a func-

tioning organization in Alabama as early as July 1961. Committee investigation revealed that the strength of the Alabama Realm was less than one might expect in a State housing the national klan headquarters and three of the imperial officers. The realm never approached the peak memberships registered in Mississippi, North Carolina and Georgia. It ranked fifth in the number of klaverns which the committee found had been organized within the various realms in the period 1964-1966.

Since the founding of the United Klans, there have been four successive grand dragons in the Realm of Alabama. Hubert A. Page⁹ served in that capacity until March 1964. He was succeeded by Robert Creel, whose tenure as grand dragon lasted until the first of January 1966, according to his own testimony before the committee. At that time, William Brassell was elected to succeed Creel. Since the close of the committee hearings in February 1966, a fourth individual has been elevated to that office. He is James Spears, of Decatur, Ala., who was elected at a State klonvokation at Linden, Ala., on June 19, 1966.

Committee investigation into the concentration of membership and the number of klaverns in the United Klans Realm of Alabama established the existence of at least 40 different klaverns in the realm at one time or another in the period 1964-66. The klaverns are listed on page 149 of this report. From material in the committee's files, it seems evident that the number of klaverns in Alabama greatly increased between March 1965 and the end of 1966. Prior to March 1965, it is believed that the Realm of Alabama had less than a dozen active klaverns. As of January 1967, there were approximately 1,200 members of the United Klans in the State of Alabama.

GEORGIA REALM OF THE UKA

Since the inception of the United Klans of America in the State of Georgia in February 1961, leadership of its Georgia Realm has always rested in the hands of Grand Dragon Calvin Craig. As in the case of Alabama, the Realm of Georgia was at birth endowed with a framework of klaverns and klansmen taken over from the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

At the time the UKA was formed, the membership of the U.S. Klans was probably in the neighborhood of 500 active members. Calvin Craig recruited into the UKA fold approximately 97 percent of those members and upon that foundation went on to build the Georgia organization into one of the largest UKA realms of the present day. Membership increases in the State of Georgia can be best explained by the organizational abilities of the grand dragon. Craig is particularly fond of turning up at civil rights demonstrations and sit-ins, increasing racial tensions and utilizing resultant publicity to attract new recruits into his organization.

The Realm of Georgia showed a moderate surge in activity and membership during the period prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, when Craig and his Georgia organizers were exploiting that issue to the maximum advantage. Like Shelton, Craig sometimes tries to give the klan an air of respectability by shunning the hood and robe

⁹ The committee was unable to locate Page for the purpose of serving a subpoena.

and appearing at klan rallies and functions in a business suit. His talks also tend to give considerable stress to political activity.

The committee found evidence of the existence of 57 klaverns in the State of Georgia at one time or another in the period 1964-66. They are listed on pages 151, 152 of this report. Not all of the klaverns continued active, of course. For example, the klavern which existed in the city of Athens, in Clarke County, which was known as Clarke County Klavern No. 244, disbanded subsequent to the arrest and trial of Joseph Howard Sims and Cecil Myers in connection with the Lemuel Penn murder case in 1964. Many former members of Clarke County Klavern No. 244 moved into the Oglethorpe County Klavern and others continued their activities as part of Vinegar Hill Klavern No. 53. Joseph Howard Sims and Cecil Meyers, following their acquittal in the Penn murder case, continued their activity within the United Klans of America as members of Vinegar Hill Klavern No. 53.

The Georgia Realm of the United Klans had approximately 1,400 members as of January 1967.

NORTH CAROLINA REALM OF THE UKA

The building of the United Klans organization in North Carolina started very slowly. During the years 1962 and 1963, UKA efforts in that State were mainly directed at attempting to combine various existing klan organizations under the leadership of the UKA. As of late 1963, the grand dragon for the State was Arthur Leonard of Salisbury, N.C. In 1964, however, a young protege of Leonard named James Robertson Jones, took over the reins as grand dragon. Jones immediately launched a statewide campaign to recruit new members in North Carolina. Jones, using astute organizational methods and exploiting to the hilt the issues presented by the passage of the Civil Rights Act, developed the North Carolina organization into the largest and most successful of all UKA realms in the United States.

The committee obtained evidence of the establishment of 192 separate klaverns in the State of North Carolina within the period 1964-66. The klaverns are listed on pages 155-159 of this report. It is estimated that there were approximately 7,500 active members in the Realm of North Carolina as of January 1967, and the organization was continuing to move ahead.

The organizational ability of North Carolina klansmen is being utilized to build up klan strength in other States. For example, a former lieutenant of North Carolina Grand Dragon Jones was dispatched to be the grand dragon and chief organizer in the State of Virginia. Ex-officers and paid organizers from the Realm of North Carolina were also dispatched to Florida to be organizers for the UKA in that State. In both cases, especially in Virginia, these organizational methods as originally employed in North Carolina seem to be meeting with success.

SOUTH CAROLINA REALM OF THE UKA

As in Alabama and Georgia, the United Klans of America has been in existence in South Carolina since July 1961, when former members of the U.S. Klans in the State went over to the newly formed UKA. Robert Scoggin, former grand dragon of the U.S. Klans in South

Carolina, emerged from the founding meeting of the UKA at Indian Springs, Ga., in July 1961 as the UKA's South Carolina grand dragon.

The history of the United Klans organization in South Carolina under the leadership of Grand Dragon Scoggin has been one of steady progress. Early in 1964, the South Carolina Realm included about 20 klaverns. Committee investigation established that at least 50 klaverns had been organized by the end of 1966. These klaverns are listed on page 160 of this report. It is estimated that, as of January 1967, approximately 800 klansmen were enrolled in the South Carolina Realm of the United Klans of America.

The UKA organization is the dominant and most militant klan within the State. It receives very little opposition from the relatively inactive and less militant Association of South Carolina Klans, described subsequently in this report. The UKA has, in fact, attempted to recruit the membership of the Association of South Carolina Klans.

FLORIDA REALM OF THE UKA

Since late 1961, the dominant ku klux klan organization in the State of Florida has been the United Florida Ku Klux Klan under the leadership of Jason E. Kersey. This klan is discussed under a separate heading later in this chapter. The United Klans of America is a relative latecomer to the Florida klan movement.

The UKA made attempts to start a State organization in Florida in the fall of 1964. At that time, Robert Shelton appointed Donald Cothran to be the grand dragon and chief organizer for the United Klans in Florida. Activity of the United Klans was initially limited to the Jacksonville area, where Cothran had his headquarters. Under Cothran's reign, attempts to organize in other parts of the State were relatively unsuccessful. As of the summer of 1965, membership in the UKA was less than 100 members. However, the UKA initiated activity that year in the Fort Lauderdale-Miami area and small klaverns were also established in the Ocala and other central Florida areas.

In the summer of 1965, a factional fight developed within the UKA's Florida Realm. A group of members, led by Charles "Rip" Riddlehoover, left the State organization of the UKA and started a new klan known as the United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The faction led by Riddlehoover protested against the leadership of Cothran, who was accused of mismanagement of funds and dictatorial methods in running the klan organization and appointing State officers.

Late in 1965, Robert Shelton made several trips to the State of Florida in an attempt to reorganize and strengthen his organization in that State. He spoke at klan rallies in the Fort Lauderdale and central Florida area. At this time, in a further effort to promote effective leadership in the Realm of Florida, Boyd Hamby, a paid organizer and former State officer in the Realm of North Carolina, and George Dorsett, also a paid organizer for the North Carolina organization,¹⁰ were transferred to Florida by Shelton. The two set up headquarters for the Florida Realm in the Titusville area.

The committee obtained evidence of the operation of 27 separate klaverns within the period 1964-66. They are listed on page 150 of this

¹⁰ Dorsett concurrently held the national klan office of Imperial Kludd (chaplain).

report. It is not known how many klaverns are active as of present date. Apparently, Hamby, who took over the position of grand dragon in Florida in late 1965, has tried to consolidate the dissident factions in the State. The UKA is still beset with internal problems, and a lack of public support for klan activity in the State makes recruiting additionally difficult. Membership of United Klans of America in the State of Florida as of January 1967 was approximately 400 members.

VIRGINIA REALM OF THE UKA

From all available evidence, UKA recruiting began in Virginia in the spring of 1965, with the formation of several klaverns in the Portsmouth-Chesapeake area, under the leadership of an interim grand dragon, Sandy Coley. UKA recruiting in Virginia under the leadership of Coley was relatively unsuccessful.

In the late summer of 1965, however, Marshall Robert Kornegay, a former paid UKA organizer in North Carolina, was dispatched to serve as grand dragon of the Virginia Realm. Kornegay established headquarters in the South Hill area of Virginia and concentrated on recruiting members in the southern part of the State near the North Carolina border. Soon after Kornegay's arrival in Virginia, a massive organizing campaign was begun. Klan applications for membership were passed out at a seemingly endless succession of public rallies and the State organization began to take shape. Since Kornegay's assignment to Virginia as grand dragon, the number of klaverns has increased to at least 32. All are believed to be currently active.¹¹ It is estimated that there were approximately 1,250 active members in the Virginia Realm as of January 1967.

MISSISSIPPI REALM OF THE UKA

The first signs of life in the modern klan movement in Mississippi appeared in the autumn of 1963, when approximately 300 Mississippians were recruited into membership in the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana. This move of the Original Knights into Mississippi was engineered mainly through the efforts of J. D. Swenson and Royal V. Young, organizers of the Original Knights in Louisiana, who were later removed from the organization for mismanagement of funds, especially moneys derived from the sale of klan robes.

The Original Knights organization in Mississippi was short lived. The appointed officers in Mississippi, Douglas Byrd and Edward L. McDaniel, were expelled from the organization in December 1963 amid charges and countercharges of thievery, conversion of klan funds for private use, and mismanagement.

Byrd took most of the Mississippi membership from the Original Knights and went on to form another klan organization in Mississippi, the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. McDaniel spent a few months as a member and officer of the White Knights. When he left that organization he was again under the cloud of having appropriated klan funds for his own use.

¹¹ See appendix p. 162 of this report for a listing of these klaverns.

Meanwhile, the first klavern of the UKA in Mississippi was established at McComb, Miss., in the spring of 1964. Another UKA klavern was formed at Natchez, Miss., on August 29, 1964. This latter unit in Adams County was known publicly as the Adams County Civic & Betterment Association. Most of its members had previously belonged to the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi. They were led into the UKA by Edward L. McDaniel.

Committee investigation established that McDaniel was secretly recruiting for the UKA while technically still a member of the White Knights. For this recruiting activity in behalf of the UKA in Mississippi, he was commended by Imperial Wizard Shelton at the imperial klonvocation of the UKA in Birmingham in September 1964.

At this same klonvocation, McDaniel was introduced to the delegates as the grand dragon of the UKA Realm of Mississippi. He soon joined Robert Shelton, the imperial wizard, in a huge campaign of rallies and speakings held all over the State beginning in the fall of 1964.

Thereafter, the UKA in Mississippi achieved tremendous success in recruiting members into its organization. Most of this success was achieved at the expense of its sister klan organization, the White Knights, whose involvement in the Philadelphia murder case, plus a multitude of bombings and burnings across the whole of Mississippi during 1964 and 1965, had branded it as the most violent and militant of the klan organizations.

UKA strategy in Mississippi, as in several other Southern States, was to build an image of nonviolence. UKA leaders such as Shelton and McDaniel would publicly proclaim nonviolent intent, in spite of the fact that concealed members of the UKA were engaged in a series of bombings in the McComb, Miss., area beginning in the summer of 1964.

UKA strategy proved, so successful in Mississippi that whole klaverns formerly associated with the White Knights turned to the UKA. By the start of 1966, UKA was the dominant klan in Mississippi.

The committee had received evidence that 76 separate klaverns in Mississippi were at one time or another associated with the UKA between the spring 1964 and the end of 1966. They are listed on pages 153, 154 of this report. It should be remembered that many of these units were once part of the White Knights network and a number of these klaverns will, therefore, also appear in the listing of White Knights klaverns active over the same period.

As late as August 1966, continuing investigation of klan activities established that Imperial Wizard Shelton declared all offices of the Mississippi realm vacant, including the office of grand dragon held by McDaniel. According to information received by the committee, this move was prompted by charges leveled at McDaniel and other realm officers by a faction of the UKA's Mississippi membership. Charges again involved misappropriation of klan funds for personal benefit. Shelton appeared to be backing the faction making the allegations against McDaniel. Since that time the organization has been wracked with dissension and whole klaverns have become inactive. Whatever direction and control is exerted over the UKA membership in Mississippi is coming directly from Shelton's headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Ala.

It is difficult to assess the effect of this turbulence on the active membership in Mississippi. However, it is known that in Mississippi, unlike other Southern States, notably North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, klan membership has recently decreased. This applies to both the UKA and the White Knights.

Of the 76 UKA klaverns known to have existed, a majority has become inactive due to the action of Imperial Wizard Shelton. The active membership of the UKA in Mississippi has been reduced to approximately 750 as of January 1967.

LOUISIANA REALM OF THE UKA

Definite signs of the reactivation of klan activity in the State of Louisiana were noted late in 1960, with the formation of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. From that time to at least January 1965 the Original Knights dominated the Louisiana klan movement. Klaverns were set up in most parts of the State, with the heaviest concentration in the areas of Shreveport, Monroe, and the Sixth Congressional District, including Bogalusa.

Internal dissension in the Original Knights eventually led to a three-way split in the organization. Most of the membership of two of the factions ultimately defected to the United Klans.¹²

The United Klans of America was attempting to organize within the State of Louisiana by late 1963. Louisiana klansmen attended the UKA's first imperial klonvocation in February 1964. By April 1964, several klaverns of the Original Knights located in the area of Jonesboro and Monroe, La., had switched over to the UKA. Under the leadership of James Malcolm Edwards, who had emerged as the grand dragon of the UKA organization in Louisiana late in 1964, the klan continued to gain strength.

With the defection of Houston P. Morris from the Original Knights to the UKA in 1965, Shelton's organization obtained additional klaverns in Louisiana and also Arkansas. Later Saxon Farmer, an Original Knights official from Bogalusa, joined the UKA recruiting team and the UKA became the strongest klan in Washington Parish.

Aided by the dissension and factionalism within the Original Knights, the United Klans of America became the dominant klan in the State of Louisiana by the summer of 1965.

Grand Dragon Edwards was interrogated by the committee in public hearings on January 11, 1966. Shortly after his appearance, however, he was deposed as grand dragon by the Louisiana membership and replaced by former Grand Klaliff Jack Helm, of New Orleans.

In March 1967, dissension within the Louisiana Realm culminated in the secession of the southern provinces. Grand Dragon Helm led the secessionists into a newly created Universal Klans of America. Helm is the commander of the new group, which is also referred to as The South.

The United Klans subsequently took official action "banishing" Helm but failed to name a successor. Although Imperial Wizard Shelton has appointed Houston P. Morris and Coy Neal as kleagles at large for the Louisiana Realm, the State organization appears to be under the direct supervision of national klan headquarters. As is the

¹² See section on Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, p. 48.

case in Mississippi, Louisiana klaverns report directly to the United Klans office in Tuscaloosa, Ala., rather than to a State headquarters.

The committee found evidence that, during the years 1964-66, at least 30 klaverns were affiliated with the United Klans in Louisiana. They are listed on page 152 of this report. It is estimated that the membership of the Louisiana Realm was approximately 700 as of January 1967.

TEXAS REALM OF THE UKA

Prior to the summer of 1965, klan activity in the State of Texas was at a virtual standstill. Even the attempts of Eldon Edwards, of the U.S. Klans, to make Texas a part of his invisible empire back in the late 1950's had not proved particularly fruitful.

United Klan activity in Texas first manifested itself when two delegates from Texas attended the UKA imperial klonvokation in Birmingham, Ala., in September 1964.

The first public evidence of a formal organization of the UKA in Texas came at a meeting of UKA leaders in North Carolina in August 1965, when Robert Shelton introduced George A. Otto, of Houston, Tex., as the acting grand dragon of the State. Only a few months prior to that time, UKA attempts to organize in Texas had resulted in the recruiting of small groups of klansmen in the area of Houston under the hard-core leadership of George Otto and William Drennan, who had ambitions to establish klaverns throughout the State.

When the UKA starts a recruitment drive in a new State, a high UKA official, usually the imperial wizard, travels to the State, for a fee, to speak at several prearranged rallies. The object is to draw as much publicity as possible and get new membership applications to embellish the membership of the local klavern. The hat is passed as often as possible to insure that the trip is also financially rewarding.

Robert Shelton showed up in Texas in September 1965 to kickoff such a recruiting drive. On his arrival, however, he found the existing organization in very bad shape. In addition to the fact that the membership was very small and there was relatively little relish among Texans for the antics of the United Klans, Shelton found a bitter fight within the membership which was divided into a faction backing Otto and another backing William Drennan, and an apparent potential third faction under Royce McPhail waiting to move in on the winner.

Shelton reportedly was discouraged with the situation in Texas as of September 1965, refused to grant it realm status, and told the leadership he would return when the State was better organized. This he never did.

Both Otto and Drennan had used the title of acting grand dragon in order to give added stature to the UKA organization in Texas, although Drennan was actually an appointed "State representative" of the UKA in Texas and Otto was officially a kleague.¹³

Texas finally obtained recognition as a realm of the United Klans of America on December 11, 1965, when delegates from the factions led by Otto and McPhail met at Midway, Tex., and elected a roster of realm officers. The Drennan faction was not represented at the

¹³ Otto resigned from the klan on Dec. 11, 1965, and testified frankly before the committee on Jan. 28, 1966, in an executive session later made public.

meeting. McPhail became the first official grand dragon. He thereafter encouraged members of the Drennan faction to return to the fold. McPhail was succeeded in 1966 by Grand Dragon Jack Cannon, of Beaumont, Tex.

The United Klans operation in Texas has been relatively ineffective and most of the activity has centered in the area around Houston.

The committee found evidence of the existence of 14 separate klaverns in Texas. They are listed on page 161 of this report. It is estimated that active membership as of January 1967 was approximately 200.

ARKANSAS REALM OF THE UKA

Committee investigation into klan activity in the State of Arkansas uncovered little in the way of organized or militant klan activity during the period 1959 to mid-1965.

During this period, the relatively inactive and ineffective Association of Arkansas Klans was the dominant organization in the State. There were attempts on the part of outside klan groups, notably the Original Knights in Louisiana and the National Knights of James Venable to spur klan activity in the State. These attempts, on the whole, were unsuccessful, although isolated klaverns sprang up and maintained a loose affiliation with the above-mentioned groups.

The first UKA incursion of any consequence into Arkansas came in the summer of 1965. During preparations for a speech to be given in El Dorado, Ark., by Robert Shelton, imperial wizard of UKA, George McNeely was publicly announced to be the elected grand dragon for the State.

Investigation revealed the establishment since that time of 10 separate klaverns in Arkansas, with concentration in the Union County area. Their locations are indicated in the klavern listings on page 150 of this report. Membership is estimated to be approximately 150 active members as of January 1967. Very little public klan activity was observed.

TENNESSEE REALM OF THE UKA

Prior to the formation of the United Klans of America in 1961, the dominant klan organization in the State of Tennessee was the Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, under the leadership of Jack Brown, whose strength in terms of membership and activity was centered around the area of Chattanooga, Tenn.

The United Klans of America made its first attempt at starting an organization in Tennessee soon after its founding meeting at Indian Springs, Ga., in 1961. Until 1965, the UKA in Tennessee was relatively unsuccessful in attracting new membership and its activity was concentrated in the area of Maryville, Tenn., where the UKA had set up headquarters under Grand Dragon Raymond Anderson. As of October 1965, there were only five active klaverns in the State of Tennessee to the best of the committee's knowledge. Since that time, it has come to the attention of the committee that five additional klaverns have been set up in the State, making a total of 10 klaverns known to have been established in Tennessee. They are listed on page 161 of this report. United Klans of America membership in the State of Tennessee is estimated to be approximately 225.

OHIO REALM OF THE UKA

Efforts to rekindle the ku klux klan in the State of Ohio started in approximately May 1964 with the efforts of James Venable, of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Venable, apparently sensing that Ohio presented opportunities for expansion of his organization and seeing most parts of the South being effectively organized by Shelton's UKA, geared his greatest organizational effort to date on that Northern State.

As early as September 1963, several Ohio residents, including Flynn Harvey, of Columbus, were recruited into the National Knights at a rally at Stone Mountain, Ga. Their return to Ohio provided a nucleus for the expansion of Venable's organization in that State. In the fall of 1964, Harvey was named by Venable to be the grand dragon for the National Knights in Ohio. Harvey was also one of three original incorporators of the National Knights in the State. Flynn Harvey fell into disfavor with the membership of the National Knights in Ohio; formal charges against him ranged from mismanagement of funds to drunkenness and ineffective leadership.

Harvey stepped down as grand dragon for Venable in May 1965 and immediately cast his lot with Shelton's UKA. In short time he emerged as grand dragon for the Ohio Realm of the United Klans of America. From that time forward, UKA has had an organization in Ohio.

Later the same year, other klansmen previously associated with Venable began defecting to the UKA. Shelton dropped Harvey as leader of the UKA in Ohio in favor of Jim Harris, of Cincinnati, in late 1965. However, by that time the whole klan movement in Ohio amounted to little more than paper organizations. The several hundred klansmen who were initiated into membership after paying the required membership fee were never really welded into an effective unit by either Shelton or Venable.

The committee received evidence of the establishment of at least four separate klaverns of the UKA in Ohio during 1965 and 1966. They are listed on page 159 of this report. As of January 1967, the active membership of UKA in Ohio was approximately 100.

PENNSYLVANIA REALM OF THE UKA

The first evidence of UKA activity in the State of Pennsylvania came in the late summer of 1965, when it was announced at a UKA meeting at Salisbury, N.C., that Roy Frankhouser, of Reading, Pa., had been appointed grand dragon for the State. Frankhouser had previously held membership in the American Nazi Party and the National States Rights Party.

Frankhouser, although officially grand dragon for Pennsylvania, is known to have been active in UKA recruiting drives in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland. Through Frankhouser's influence, ex-members of the American Nazi Party assisted in the UKA recruiting efforts in Pennsylvania, New York, Delaware, and New Jersey.

The committee received no evidence that Frankhouser was successful in his organizing work in Pennsylvania. Investigations failed to

establish the existence of any klavern in the State other than the klavern in Reading, Pa., where the headquarters of the Pennsylvania Realm is also located.

Actual UKA membership in Pennsylvania as of January 1967 is estimated at approximately 50. The klan was inactive outside the Reading area.

DELAWARE REALM OF THE UKA

On August 1, 1965, Ralph Pryor, Jr., was appointed grand dragon of UKA's Delaware Realm. He was installed in office following the UKA rally on July 31 at Bear, Del., which was to inaugurate UKA recruiting in the Middle Atlantic States. This rally, at which the imperial wizard and other high officers spoke, succeeded in attracting an estimated 2,000 persons.

The following months saw the establishment of several active klaverns in Delaware, mainly in the Wilmington area. The State organization of the UKA in Delaware used the cover name, "Delaware Birdwatchers."

The Realm of Delaware experienced the same difficulties which beset many other klan realms. Grand Dragon Pryor left the organization in January 1966 after making charges of mismanagement of funds and infiltration of the Delaware Realm by Nazi elements.

During the period August 1965 through 1966, the committee received evidence of the establishment of five klaverns of the UKA in Delaware. They are listed on page 150 of this report. As of January 1967, it is estimated that active UKA membership in the State was approximately 100.

MARYLAND REALM OF THE UKA

As previously noted, UKA organizing in the State of Maryland began soon after the UKA rally in Bear, Del., on July 31, 1965. A number of residents from Maryland had attended the Delaware rally. When the Delaware Realm of the UKA was created following the rally, its geographical boundaries actually included the northeast corner of the State of Maryland, including the town of Elkton.

Organizing in the remainder of the State of Maryland has been under the direction of Vernon Naimaster, of Baltimore, publicized as acting grand dragon.

The UKA has made little progress in Maryland. In the summer of 1966, the fledgling organization was split by the banishment of a group of klansmen led by Xavier Edwards. Edwards promptly started a separate klan in Maryland.

Since the initiation of UKA activity in Maryland, the committee received evidence of the establishment of four separate units, with an estimated active membership as of January 1967 of approximately 25 persons. The klaverns are listed on page 153 of this report.

NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

The history of the UKA movement in New York is much the same as that of Pennsylvania. At approximately the same time that Frank-

houser was announced to be grand dragon of Pennsylvania, Daniel Burros was named king kleagle (chief organizer) and acting grand dragon of New York. Burros, like Frankhouser, had been a member of the American Nazi Party.

The nucleus of the UKA organization in New York was composed of individuals previously associated with Burros and Frankhouser in pro-Nazi organizations.

Burros committed suicide in October 1965 at the home of Roy Frankhouser. Burros was succeeded by King Kleagle William Hoff, also a former Nazi. The UKA has appointed no grand dragon for the State, however, and Pennsylvania Grand Dragon Frankhouser has been active in supervising recruitment in New York.

Since that time, attempts to organize an effective UKA operation have been unsuccessful. The committee found evidence of only one active klavern in the State of New York, with the bulk of its membership from the Queens area of New York City. The active membership as of January 1967 is estimated to be approximately 25.

UKA organizing in neighboring New Jersey was headed by Frank W. Rotella, Jr. He was a close associate of Roy Frankhouser, the late Daniel Burros, and William Hoff. The UKA's failure in New Jersey is established by the fact that there were no klaverns active in the State as of January 1967. Aside from Rotella and a handful of associates—most of whom are from New York and Pennsylvania—there does not appear to be any active membership.

An attempt by the UKA to hold a public rally in New Jersey in May 1966 ended in failure when the scheduled featured speaker, Robert Scoggin, South Carolina grand dragon, did not appear.

In June 1966, Rotella publicly announced he had resigned from the leadership of the New Jersey klan because of time-consuming "personal commitments" which he refused to elaborate upon.

SUMMARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF UKA KLAVERNS AND MEMBERSHIP

As previously observed, the United Klans of America made some attempt to establish active organizations in States other than the 17 referred to above.

In some States such as Indiana and Wisconsin, Imperial Wizard Shelton publicly announced the appointments of grand dragons. However, the klan has only a handful of members in those States.

On the other hand, United Klans recruitment in the State of Michigan—where a single klavern existed at the time of this committee's public hearings—has registered noteworthy gains in recent months. Continuing committee investigation has disclosed the existence of three klaverns located at Detroit, Flint, and Taylor, Mich. As of March 1967, the klaverns had an overall membership of approximately 200.

The committee obtained evidence that the United Klans has received and approved individual memberships in a number of other States not named in this report. The committee had no information which would indicate the existence of organized units of the United Klans in those States, however.

Following is a summary of the identified klaverns and estimated membership of the United Klans of America in the States just discussed:

State	Number of klaverns operating at one time or another in the period 1964-66	Estimated active membership as of January 1967	State	Number of klaverns operating at one time or another in the period 1964-66	Estimated active membership as of January 1967
Alabama.....	40	1,200	Ohio.....	4	100
Georgia.....	57	1,400	Pennsylvania.....	1	50
North Carolina.....	192	7,500	Delaware.....	5	100
South Carolina.....	50	800	Maryland.....	4	25
Florida.....	27	400	New York.....	1	25
Virginia.....	32	1,250	New Jersey.....	0	(¹)
Mississippi.....	76	750	Michigan.....	3	200
Louisiana.....	30	700			
Texas.....	14	200	Total, active members, 17 States.....		15,075
Arkansas.....	10	150			
Tennessee.....	10	225			

¹ Negligible.

² Klaverns in existence and estimated membership as of March 1967.

The committee wishes to emphasize that the figure of 556 klaverns shows the number of units which the committee found to be operative at some time or another during the years 1964, 1965, and 1966. The figure includes 56 ladies auxiliaries, the majority of which were located in the State of North Carolina. The committee does not assert that all of the klaverns continued to be active as of the end of 1966. Investigation established that the life of klaverns was erratic. Some are short lived, others last for years. The latter type of klavern may also have periods of great activity, followed by a period of dormancy. Nor does the committee believe it has been able to identify all of the klaverns established by the United Klans. The secrecy with which the UKA operates on all levels makes the detection and identification of local units extremely difficult.

The committee estimates the total UKA membership, excluding the ladies auxiliaries, to be 15,075 as of January 1967. Its sources were previously described. It has already called attention to the fluctuating nature of klan membership. Increases in membership appeared in the summer months when public klan activity was at its height. In the winter, when the cow pastures were windy and cold, membership tended to decline along with the klan's public activity. The committee also found that, for many individuals, klan membership was a temporary aberration. Many members became inactive or dropped from the klan after attending a few klan meetings and discovering that the klan had nothing more to offer than talk and terror.

FINANCES OF THE UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA

The main continuing sources of funds for the United Klans of America, as well as other klans, are (1) initiation fees; (2) dues; and (3) proceeds from sale of robes and other paraphernalia. An equally important source of funds for the United Klans and other klans which schedule public rallies are donations milked from that portion of the public which attends these rallies.

An initiation fee (klektokon¹⁴) is usually paid by the prospective member when he executes his application for membership. Although the UKA constitution provides that the fee may range from \$10 to \$25, the usual initiation fee has been \$10. Recruiting is carried out by a network of organizers called kleagles. When an individual signs an application for membership and pays his klektokon, the kleagle has authority under the klan constitution to receive a share of the klektokon. The kleagle's "cut" is usually \$3.

The amount of dues payable by each member of the United Klans varies from klavern to klavern. The average amount is \$1.25 per month. Of this \$1.25 monthly dues payment, 50 cents is designated as the imperial tax,¹⁵ and is payable to the national headquarters of the United Klans, located in Imperial Wizard Shelton's home in Tuscaloosa, Ala. Twenty-five cents of each klansman's monthly dues payment, known as the realm tax, is paid to the State (realm) headquarters. The remaining 50 cents stays in the local klavern.

Each member of the United Klans is required by the constitution to obtain a robe and a hood through the klavern kligrapp. Committee investigation showed that there is no one way that a klansman obtains his robe.

Committee investigation into United Klans activity in North Carolina, for example, disclosed that most klan robes were purchased from the office of Grand Dragon James Robertson Jones. The cost of a rank-and-file klansman's robe ranges from \$10 to \$15, depending upon the type of cloth used in the manufacture. The robes were actually manufactured by klansmen's wives, and a sizable profit was realized by the grand dragon, regardless of the material used in the robes. Robe income was handled as a separate financial transaction, and proceeds were deposited into the personal bank account of the grand dragon.

The committee found that the source of robes in the other realms of the United Klans of America was the Heritage Garment Works of Columbia, S.C., from which klansmen ordered robes directly. Direct ordering appears to be customary in most States. Evidence obtained by the committee indicates that Heritage Garment Works kicks back to the imperial office of the United Klans a share of its profits from the sale of robes. It is also known that certain pieces of jewelry, such as lapel buttons, have been approved for sale by the imperial office and profits from these sales have found their way into the imperial bank account. The sale of phonograph records and literature has provided additional income for the imperial office as well as Imperial Wizard Shelton personally.

Contributions are customarily solicited from the audiences at public rallies sponsored by the United Klans of America. Although the committee believes that substantial sums have been netted by this procedure, the distribution of such funds is difficult to establish. The committee's hearings contain documentation of a sizable income to the UKA Realm of North Carolina as a result of public rallies, but

¹⁴ This klan term has been spelled in a variety of ways. Although originally spelled "klektokon" in the copyrighted laws of Simmons' klan, the constitutions of the present-day United Klans and National Knights refer to initiation fees as "klektokons." The White Knights refer to "klektokons," while the Original Knights have come up with "kelektokons."

¹⁵ Increased from 25 cents to 50 cents at the klonvokation held in Birmingham, Ala., in September 1964.

other beneficiaries are well concealed. There is every reason to believe that the imperial wizard shares in this lucrative source of revenue. His personal appearance is the drawing card at most klan rallies, and the committee has evidence that Shelton has requested and received "speaker's" fees. Nevertheless, the committee was unable to locate cash deposits to either the imperial bank account of the United Klans or Shelton's personal account which could be identified as proceeds from klan rallies. Neither the United Klans as an organization, nor its officers as individuals, have ever declared sums received from rallies as income when filing Federal tax returns.

Funds solicited and received for the defense of klansmen arrested as a result of murder, bombings, and other violent acts, likewise have not been deposited into the imperial bank account. Funds for the defendants in the Viola Liuzzo murder case were found to be concealed in at least two separate accounts: the Whiteman's Defense Fund, opened with a \$1,000 check drawn against the imperial account of the UKA, and the UKA Defense Fund. Money from various States for defendants in the Lemuel Penn murder case was sent to the exalted cyclops of a UKA klavern in Athens, Ga., Tom Whitehead. Although the UKA contributed to the defense of the McComb, Miss., bombers in 1964, the committee was unable to locate a bank account reflecting disbursements for this purpose.

THE ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE

The United Klans of America maintained its imperial account in a Tuscaloosa, Ala., bank under the cover name, "Alabama Rescue Service." Funds deposited in this account almost exclusively represented the imperial tax (i.e., 50 cents of each klansman's monthly dues).

Beginning in May 1964, funds were disbursed from this account by checks cosigned by Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton and Mrs. Shelton, who used the alias "James J. Hendrix." Prior to the time that Mrs. Shelton cosigned checks, Mrs. Carol Long, an imperial office employee, performed the same function, using the alias "T. M. Montgomery."

The UKA constitution provides that funds must be disbursed jointly by the imperial wizard and the imperial klabee (treasurer). Neither of the two women cosigning checks had ever held the office of treasurer; nor has the committee been able to locate any individuals in the United Klans who actually bore the name of Hendrix or Montgomery. In spite of the public disclosure in October 1965 of this violation of the UKA constitution, Mrs. Shelton continued as late as May 1966 to sign checks with the name "James J. Hendrix." This disbursement procedure meant that Shelton exercised sole control over funds in the imperial account. It is apparent to the committee that Shelton not only disbursed funds as he saw fit, but also disbursed most of them to his personal advantage.

Rank-and-file members of the United Klans and realm officers who were willing to divulge information to the committee pled ignorance as to the disposition of portions of initiation fees and dues payments sent to higher klan authorities. Knowledge with respect to the disposition of funds collected at klan rallies was similarly restricted to a small clique of klan officials, who refused to divulge the secret when questioned by the committee in public hearings.

As previously stated, the committee obtained records of the bank account of the Alabama Rescue Service (ARS) as well as the personal account of Robert Shelton. Checks deposited in the Alabama Rescue Service account were mainly from local klaverns and were made payable to the ARS, UKA, or Shelton personally. A few checks deposited in the ARS account were payable to *The Fiery Cross*, official UKA publication, or to the UKA for a paperback publication dealing with the Selma-Montgomery, Ala., civil rights march. However, most checks for the paperback publication were deposited in Shelton's personal account.

Between February and May 1966, a total of \$1,509 was deposited in Shelton's personal bank account, which represented mostly \$2 checks payable to Shelton, the UKA, or *The Fiery Cross* for paperback publications on civil rights demonstrations. However, there were no withdrawals from Shelton's personal account which would indicate payments to the publishing firms for the publications. The inference is strong that UKA funds were used to purchase the booklets, which were then resold to klansmen for Shelton's personal profit. On February 23 and April 12, 1966, Shelton drew checks against the Alabama Rescue Service account in the amounts of \$2,415 and \$1,890, respectively. The two checks¹⁶ were payable to the American Southern Publishing Co. of Montgomery, Ala., which prints official UKA literature such as *The Fiery Cross*. On April 12, 1966, the publishing company in turn paid \$1,077 to Shelton, who deposited the sum in his personal bank account. The committee has no knowledge of the type of services, if any, rendered by Shelton to the American Southern Publishing Co.

Recent withdrawals from the Alabama Rescue Service account for the purpose of compensating present national klan officers are extremely revealing.

On April 12, 1966, the imperial wizard wrote a check to cash in the amount of \$6,000 with the notation that it was "Accumulated Salary—1965." On May 7, 1966, Shelton wrote checks to himself and the imperial kligrapp (secretary), Melvin Sexton; each check was in the amount of \$196.81. On May 13, 1966, Shelton again wrote checks in the same amount payable to himself and Sexton. It appears that, as of May 7, 1966, the imperial wizard and imperial kligrapp began drawing weekly salaries of \$196.81. This rate of compensation from klan dues would provide them with annual salaries in excess of \$10,000.

ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE SUITE 401, THE ALSTON BUILDING TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		911
DATE February 23 1966		51-70 621
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	American Southern Publishing Company	\$2,415.00
Two-Thousand & Four-hundred & Fifteen and 00/100		DOLLARS
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF TUSCALOOSA TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		
-10621-0070-		0000241500

ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE SUITE 401, THE ALSTON BUILDING TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		948
DATE April 12 1966		51-70 621
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	American Southern Publishing Company	\$1,890.00
One-thousand-Eight-hundred & Ninety and 00/100		DOLLARS
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF TUSCALOOSA TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		
-10621-0070-		0000189000

AMERICAN SOUTHERN PUBLISHING CO., INC. P. O. BOX 408 NORTHPORT, ALABAMA		NO 191
DATE April 12 1966		51-121 620
PAY	AMERICAN SOUTHERN PUBLISHING CO. - 1077 DOLS 00 CTS	\$1,077.00
TO THE ORDER OF Robert M. Shelton		
CITY NATIONAL BANK OF BIRMINGHAM BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA		
-10620-0131-		20399800

ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE SUITE 401, THE ALSTON BUILDING TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		947
DATE April 12 1966		51-70 621
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	CASH	\$6000.00
Six Thousand and 00/100		DOLLARS
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF TUSCALOOSA TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		
Accumulated Salary-1965		
-10621-0070-		

ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE SUITE 401, THE ALSTON BUILDING TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		978
DATE May 7 1966		51-70 621
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	Robert M. Shelton	\$196.81
One-hundred & Ninety-six and 81/100		DOLLARS
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF TUSCALOOSA TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		
-10621-0070-		

¹⁶ See bottom of this page and pp. 41, 42 for the reproduction of these and other checks subsequently referred to in this section.

ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE SUITE 401, THE ALSTON BUILDING TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		979
DATE May 7 19 66		61-70 621
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	Melvin Sexton	\$ 196.81
One-hundred & Ninety-six and 81/100		DOLLARS
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF TUSCALOOSA TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE <i>Robert M. Shelton</i> James J. Hendrix
-10621-0070-		

ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE SUITE 401, THE ALSTON BUILDING TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		981
DATE May 13 19 66		61-70 621
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	Robert M. Shelton	\$ 196.81
One-hundred & Ninety-six and 81/100		DOLLARS
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF TUSCALOOSA TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE <i>Robert M. Shelton</i> James J. Hendrix
-10621-0070-		

ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE SUITE 401, THE ALSTON BUILDING TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		980
DATE May 13 19 66		61-70 621
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	Melvin Sexton	\$ 196.81
One-hundred & Ninety-six and 81/100		DOLLARS
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF TUSCALOOSA TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE <i>Robert M. Shelton</i> James J. Hendrix
-10621-0070-		

ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE SUITE 401, THE ALSTON BUILDING TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		968
DATE 4-28 19 66		61-70 621
PAY TO THE ORDER OF	<i>Perkins Cabinet Shop</i>	\$ 934.21
One-hundred & Ninety-six and 81/100		DOLLARS
THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF TUSCALOOSA TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA		ALABAMA RESCUE SERVICE <i>Robert M. Shelton</i> James J. Hendrix
-10621-0070-		

This compensation, of course, does not reflect distribution of funds received at hundreds of public rallies held throughout the South by the United Klans of America. Nor does it include checks which Shelton has drawn against the Alabama Rescue Service account to pay purely personal obligations.¹⁷

The committee's investigation documented the fact that the United Klans of America, Inc., was guilty of tax evasion in failing to report total income. Because of the secret nature of the klan, funds which it obtains are extremely difficult to trace. However, the committee did establish that during fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, Shelton reported on a Federal corporate income tax return that UKA income from all sources was only \$18,487.60. Yet UKA's principal bank account, concealed under the name of the Alabama Rescue Service, alone received deposits of \$18,036.95. If Shelton had reported, as he should have, the income of klaverns and realms, an accurate return would have reflected a gross income in excess of \$100,000.

Shelton in a sense acknowledged this obligation when he was interviewed by a Federal internal revenue agent after this committee sought to review the tax returns of the UKA's North Carolina Realm. Stated Shelton:

The Realm of North Carolina is simply a geographic subdivision of the national chapter and is used only to identify a given area; that is, the State of North Carolina. It is not an organization and has no funds, income, or expenses. Therefore, no returns are due.

In spite of Shelton's statement, the committee found that funds of the North Carolina Realm of the UKA were deposited into three separate bank accounts in North Carolina. An analysis of these accounts reflected that deposits during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, totaled \$14,808.25. This figure does not include income retained by the local klaverns in North Carolina. Excluding robe income, the committee conservatively estimates gross income of klaverns in North Carolina—from initiation fees, dues, and fundraising activities—to be an additional \$40,000 for the 1965 fiscal year.

UKA's gross income for the fiscal year 1965 would, therefore, exceed \$70,000 if the gross income of only one realm, North Carolina, were added to the funds deposited into the national Alabama Rescue Service account.

The income of the North Carolina Realm was derived chiefly from "passing the hat" at public klan rallies in that State. From interviews and testimony the committee is convinced that the funds reflected in the realm's accounts do not even constitute all of the income from that source. Klan leaders on both National and State levels have unquestionably taken their share off the top of the stacks of greenbacks before deposits are made. Because this income is in cash, the exact amount received is impossible to establish.

In view of an upsurge in klan activity prior to committee hearings, the committee estimates that the UKA's gross income during the first 6 months of fiscal year 1966 (i.e., July-December 1965) equaled its \$100,000-plus income for the entire preceding fiscal year.

¹⁷ On Apr. 28, 1966, Shelton wrote a check to Perkins Cabinet Shop in the amount of \$934.21. The purpose of this payment from the national klan account is not known. The cabinet shop is owned by W. O. Perkins, previously identified in this report as the Imperial Klabe (treasurer) of the United Klans of America.

WHITE KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, MISSISSIPPI

As previously noted, the Original Knights of Louisiana created an organization in Mississippi in the fall of 1963 which was soon wracked with internal dissension. When the top Mississippi officers, Douglas Byrd and Edward L. McDaniel, were expelled in December 1963, the Mississippi section of the Original Knights became practically inoperative.

Committee investigation has revealed that in February 1964 approximately 200 former members of the Mississippi section of the Original Knights met at Brookhaven, Miss., under the leadership of Byrd and formed the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi. The avowed aim of the White Knights was to promote white supremacy and to maintain segregation of the races.

By April 1964, according to the committee's investigation, direction of the White Knights was in the hands of Imperial Wizard Sam Holloway Bowers, Jr. The office at 820 South Fourth Avenue in Laurel, Miss., which Bowers used for his business ventures involving vending machines and real estate, also served as headquarters for the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Other high-ranking White Knights officers at this time were Grand Dragon Julius Harper, of Crystal Springs, Miss.; Grand Giant Billy Buckles, of Roxie; State Organizer A. C. Herrington, of Ruth; Ernest S. Gilbert, of Brookhaven, chief of the Klan Bureau of Investigation; and Paul Foster, of Natchez, grand kludd (chaplain).

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The White Knights adopted a constitution¹⁸ which provided for an organizational structure quite distinct from that of other klans, past and present. The constitution restricts White Knights operations to the State of Mississippi in contrast to other klan constitutions which allowed for development into a national organization.

The appearance of a democratically run organization was created by constitutional provisions for a White Knights legislature consisting of two parliamentary bodies—the klanburgesses and the klonvocation. The klanburgesses, consisting of all klansmen in good standing, had the exclusive authority to call the upper house—the klonvocation—into session. The lower house also had power to determine the agenda for the klonvocation, which could be convened to elect top klan officers, fix dues rates, or enact laws and constitutional amendments. Their system of government is not duplicated in any other klan organization.

The White Knights klonvocation, in session, would be somewhat similar to the klonvocations (national conventions) of other klans. Delegates to a White Knights klonvocation were called senators and only one senator could be elected from each Mississippi county no matter how many White Knights units were located therein. Other klan constitutions generally authorized every klavern to send delegates to national conventions.

Committee investigations uncovered no evidence that senators were ever actually elected and a White Knights klonvocation convened.

¹⁸ Reproduced as exhibit in the appendix to this report, p. 253.

The committee does have knowledge of many meetings attended by White Knights officers on province, congressional district, and State levels at which officers were elected, funds allocated, and the constitution revised in violation of procedures spelled out in the klan's constitution.

Imperial Wizard Sam Bowers has constantly referred to the White Knights as a kind of military operation and it is apparent to the committee that the organization functions in fact according to military rather than democratic procedures, with Bowers all powerful in the role of commander in chief.

The official hierarchy of the White Knights was smaller than other klans and a different nomenclature was employed. The imperial wizard was assisted on a State level by a grand dragon, grand giant, grand chaplain, and grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation. The klan organization within the State was successively divided into congressional districts, provinces (a combination of counties), and klaverns.

The grand director of the Klan Bureau of Investigation coordinates the work of province investigators and klavern investigators (known within the klavern as the klokkan), in addition to a number of "executive" investigators who are appointed by and report to the imperial wizard.

These White Knights investigators are the eyes and ears of the klan. They investigate members whose actions are suspicious, particularly watching for those who might be supplying information to law enforcement agencies, Federal and State. Outside the klan, they investigate persons and organizations active in civil rights activities and recommend harassment such as cross burnings or acts of violence such as beatings, burnings and bombings. As White Knights officers, the investigators may authorize and even participate in acts of violence. However, acts of extermination (murder) require the approval of the imperial wizard, who is supposed to obtain the advice and counsel of the grand chaplain. Within the United Klans of America, the aforementioned investigative functions are assigned to klokann committees and intelligence committees.

The oath administered to White Knights recruits also differed from that of other klans. For example, a member of the White Knights flatly limited his support of the Constitution of the United States of America to the document "as originally written." He swore, in addition, to die to preserve "Christian civilization." A White Knight also bound himself "unto my grave" never to be the cause of a breach of secrecy or any other act which might be detrimental to the integrity of the White Knights.

While the usual klan oath exempts a klansman from his pledge of secrecy when murder, rape, and treason is involved (in language but not in practice), the White Knights allowed no exceptions. However, qualifications for membership in the White Knights proscribe membership by those who have ever engaged in acts of murder, rape, or treason.

Committee investigation of the various klans established that much of the language in such documents as constitutions and membership oaths is mere window dressing. Only a few provisions, such as protection of the secrecy of the klans, are actually enforced.

Ironically, the White Knights alleged dedication to the Constitution of the United States "as originally written" did not prevent them from relying on constitutional amendments to challenge various criminal indictments of White Knights members. The White Knights, in fact, had urged dismissal of indictments on the ground that Negroes were excluded from the juries handing down the indictments. Imperial Wizard Bowers and more than two dozen other individuals identified as officers or members of the White Knights also continually invoked a combination of amendments to the U.S. Constitution as justification for refusing to answer questions during this committee's public investigative hearings in January and February 1966.

GROWTH AND DECLINE OF THE WHITE KNIGHTS

After its formation, the influence of the White Knights spread rapidly through the State. Klaverns were established in approximately one-half of the State's 82 counties. At the zenith of its power in the fall of 1964, the White Knights could claim a total of approximately 6,000 active members.

Unlike other major klan organizations, the White Knights has been so extremely secret in its operations that it has never been known to sponsor public rallies or functions, and none of its leaders will admit publicly to any association with the organization. The elaborate security regulations adopted by the White Knights to protect its members and units from detection by outsiders are described in the following chapter.¹⁹ The organization has also placed great emphasis on so-called intelligence operations which involve gathering information on the klan's "enemies," as well as those within the klan who might be security risks. Every klansman was called upon to engage in such intelligence work and report his findings to a klavern "investigator" who had the responsibility of transmitting the information to higher klan authorities.

Although the White Knights dominated the Mississippi klan movement, by September 1964 they were being challenged by organizers for the United Klans of America. As previously noted,²⁰ defections from the White Knights to the United Klans steadily mounted during the summer and fall of 1964 through the leadership of Edward L. McDaniel. McDaniel, heretofore a province investigator for the White Knights, was recognized at the United Klans national klonvocation in Birmingham in September 1964 as grand dragon of the UKA's new Mississippi Realm.

Between May 1964 and the opening of this committee's hearings in October 1965, whole klaverns previously affiliated with the White Knights had transferred their allegiance to the United Klans. Continuing committee investigation revealed that, as of January 1967, membership of the White Knights had dropped to an estimated 400 members.

The White Knights membership losses appeared to be due principally to (1) the challenge of the United Klans with its superior organizational ability and systematic use of public rallies to espouse the klan cause, and (2) the publicly disclosed involvement of the White

¹⁹ See p. 69.

²⁰ See p. 30.

Knights in acts of violence such as bombings, beatings, burnings, and murder during the years 1964-1966. Although the violent image of the White Knights was a factor in many switches to the United Klans, the committee discovered that a number of violence-prone members of the White Knights had actually gone over to the United Klans on the grounds that the White Knights was not militant enough.

The White Knights utilized front organizations and other devices to conceal klan activity from public view. The White Christian Protective and Legal Defense Fund was a front organization created and completely controlled by the White Knights. It was publicly advertised as a vehicle to collect funds for the legal defense of those persons arrested in connection with the murder of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., in July 1964. The bulk of the funds, in fact, went to finance operations of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Another front organization of the White Knights was WASP, Inc., advertised as a nonprofit organization dedicated to the Christian-American heritage. The initials stood for White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. WASP reportedly was designed to enlist persons in the State who were sympathetic to the aims of the White Knights but who could not afford to be linked with a klan organization. One of the mimeographed bulletins circulated publicly as a service of WASP, Inc., was a lengthy litany of hate against Jews.²¹

The White Knights used the cover name "Mississippi White Caps" on mimeographed bulletins distributed publicly in an effort to discredit individuals and organizations considered hostile to the klan's white supremacist objectives. White Knights documents which are exhibits to this report show that all local units were expected to write, print, and distribute "propaganda" as one of their "primary" functions. The klan's "intelligence" work provided the material for its printed propaganda. Elaborate precautions were taken to forestall disclosure of the source of the publications. A White Knights directive indicated that the klan considered propaganda "a weapon of modern war" which could serve to destroy its enemies "socially" and "economically." The importance of this weapon was described thusly:

The importance of Propaganda in this struggle simply cannot be overemphasized. If we can mould and maintain favorable public opinion, we can attain our objective, God God (sic) Willing. If we permit our enemies and opponents to convince the public that THEY are Good, and WE are Bad, we will eventually lose, regardless of how many of the enemy that we kill.²²

Committee investigation uncovered the names and locations of 52 klaverns which were established by the White Knights in the State of Mississippi in the period 1964-66. They are listed on page 163 of this report. In view of the previously noted membership losses, many of the listed klaverns are no longer in existence, and a number of the klaverns are currently affiliates of the United Klans of America.

²¹ This bulletin in the name of WASP, Inc., is reproduced as an exhibit in the appendix, pp. 293, 294.

²² A two-page bulletin issued by the Mississippi White Caps appears as an exhibit in the appendix, pp. 295, 296.

²³ See Executive Lecture of Mar. 1, 1964, in appendix, pp. 164-168. Some of the effects of the White Knights propaganda campaign, which generally involved scurrilous charges impugning the honesty and morals of individuals opposed by the klan, are described in ch. VI, pp. 100, 101.

THE ORIGINAL KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Prior to 1960, there had been no effective klan activity in the State of Louisiana for several decades. The klan was reactivated in Louisiana late in 1960 by Roy E. Davis of Dallas, Texas. Although he held the title of imperial wizard of the Original Ku Klux Klan, Davis actually exercised little leadership over the Louisiana section of his organization during the brief period he remained in the imperial wizardship.

Direction of the new Louisiana klan rested with J. D. Swenson of Bossier City, La., who was the national kleagle (organizer) as well as grand dragon. Swenson in turn recruited another Louisianan, Royal V. Young, who was appointed to a succession of offices culminating in that of imperial dragon in early 1963.²⁴

The avowed purpose of the Louisiana klan, which is also referred to as the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was to promote "Americanism" and white supremacy and to maintain segregation of the races.²⁵

Up to the fall of 1963, the Original Knights confined their activities and recruiting to the State of Louisiana. Thereafter, they moved into Arkansas and Mississippi.

In Mississippi, under the direction of J. D. Swenson, some 300 Mississippians joined the Original Knights and prospects for further recruiting in the State of Mississippi seemed bright. In Arkansas, the Original Knights formed some klaverns in the area of El Dorado and Crockett but never gained much of a foothold in that State.

Within Louisiana itself, the Original Knights attained considerable strength in three separate areas of the State: the area surrounding the cities of Shreveport and Bossier City, the area of Monroe, and an area roughly corresponding to the limits of the State's Sixth Congressional District, which included the city of Bogalusa.

Dissension over the personal profits being made by Swenson and Young developed within the ranks of the Original Knights starting in 1963. In December 1963, Douglas Byrd, who had been appointed temporary grand dragon of the Mississippi Realm of the Original Knights, and another Mississippi officer, Edward L. McDaniel, were expelled by Swenson. Byrd and McDaniel had charged Swenson with pocketing the profits from the sale of klan robes. Swenson's expulsion order against his two Mississippi officers accused them of slandering and threatening klan leaders and encouraging a revolt against klan rules. The bulk of the Original Knights membership in Mississippi followed Byrd early in 1964 into a new organization named the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

²⁴ Young testified before the committee on July 28, 1965, in an executive session later made public.

²⁵ A constitution adopted by the Original Knights is reproduced as an exhibit in the appendix to this report. See pp. 297-319.

Basic klan documents such as the constitution, printed membership application blanks and recruiting literature carry the simple title, "Original Ku Klux Klan." Following the ouster of Swenson and Young from the klan leadership early in 1964, the new leaders commonly referred to the organization as the "Original Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana" and that title is found on printed hate literature issued by the klan during 1965 and early 1966.

The Louisiana klan is also frequently referred to as the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and this title is used by the committee in its public investigative hearings as well as in this report.

DISSENSION LEADS TO THREE-WAY SPLIT

The internal strife within the organization in Louisiana led to the removal, early in 1964, of Royal V. Young and J. D. Swenson on charges of misappropriating klan funds for their personal use. During the Young-Swenson administration, the Original Knights had maintained bank accounts under the cover name, "Louisiana Rifle Association."

Murry H. Martin and Billy Skipper moved into the command of the Original Knights with the understanding that elections for permanent officers of the faction-ridden organization would be held in 6 months. Houston P. Morris, one of the lesser officials, was given assurances that he would obtain top office when elections were held. Martin's faction, committee investigation revealed, used the intervening months to consolidate its control and eliminate any influence by Morris and his supporters. The result was a three-way split in the organization in the fall of 1964.

Houston P. Morris withdrew his forces, largely located in the area of Monroe, La., and started a new organization known as the Original Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc. Incorporation papers for the Monroe-based group, headed by "Imperial Wizard" Morris, were filed with the Louisiana secretary of state on January 26, 1965.²⁶ By late April, Morris had withdrawn from direction of the new klan. In June 1965, Morris and the bulk of the membership joined Shelton's United Klans of America. The Original Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc., nevertheless still managed to maintain a separate existence as of the fall of 1965.

A second faction which operated independently after splitting away from Murry Martin's organization in the fall of 1964 was headed by Grand Dragon Charles Christmas, of Amite, La., and Grand Titan Saxon Farmer, of Bogalusa. It is composed of the Original Knights membership within the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana, including Bogalusa.²⁷ This group adopted the cover name, "Anti-Communist Christian Association." Articles of incorporation for the ACCA were notarized on December 1, 1964, and filed with the secretary of state.

The United Klans organizing drive in Louisiana in 1965 succeeded in recruiting most of the membership away from the Sixth Congressional District faction of the Original Knights. Most prominent convert to the United Klans was the faction's second-ranking officer, Saxon Farmer.

The section of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan which remained loyal to Grand Dragon Murry H. Martin drew most of its membership from the Shreveport-Bossier City area of the State. When Martin took over the organization early in 1964, the klan adopted the cover name "Christian Constitutional Crusaders" to conceal its financial transactions with local banks. Following the three-way split in the Original Knights in the fall of 1964, Martin's section of the klan continued to use the same cover name. Represent-

²⁶ See exhibit in appendix, pp. 320-324.

²⁷ To distinguish this group from the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan headed by Murry Martin, it has been referred to in the committee's hearings as the Sixth Congressional District faction of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

atives of this faction of the Original Knights attend meetings of the National Association of Ku Klux Klan headed by James Venable. Leadership has remained in the hands of Grand Dragon Martin, assisted by Billy Skipper and P. L. Morgan. Membership has been declining since 1964, however, and many of the klaverns affiliated with the Martin faction have become inactive.

The committee interrogated past and present officers of all factions of the Original Knights during its public investigative hearings in 1965-66. By the time the hearings opened in October 1965, however, the United Klans of America had superseded the Original Knights as the predominant klan in the State of Louisiana.

The Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had reached the height of its power in the summer of 1964 when it could claim approximately 1,000 members. The committee estimates that, as of January 1967, the total membership of all the factions of the Original Knights did not exceed 250.

The 46 klaverns which the committee discovered to have operated at one time or another in the period 1964-66 as affiliates of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are listed on pages 147, 148 of this report.

NATIONAL KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Records of the Superior Court of DeKalb County, Ga., show that the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., received its corporate charter on November 1, 1963, as an alleged patriotic, secret and benevolent order.

Original incorporators of this organization were William Hugh Morris, of Buchanan, Ga.; H. G. Hill, of Atlanta; Wally Butterworth, whose address at that time was Stone Mountain, Ga.; and James R. Venable, also of Stone Mountain.²⁸ Headquarters of the National Knights is located on the second floor of the Carl Garman Building in Tucker, Ga.

Committee investigation established that the prime movers in establishing the National Knights as a corporate organization were James R. Venable, the imperial wizard since its incorporation, and Wallace Butterworth.

Venable, according to his own testimony before this committee,²⁹ first became a member of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in 1924 and has been associated with one or another klan organization ever since. After the dissolution of the Knights in 1944, Venable was a member of the Association of Georgia Klans; the Federated Ku Klux Klans led by William Hugh Morris; the U.S. Klans; and the United Klans of America, Inc. With the U.S. Klans and the United Klans, Venable held the title of "imperial klonsel" (legal adviser). As imperial klonsel of the United Klans, Venable from the period 1961 to late 1962 also served on the imperial board of the organization.

Investigation of the background of Wallace Butterworth revealed he at one time held the position of public relations director of the United Klans of America. As such he was also a member of the imperial board.

²⁸ The articles of incorporation are reproduced as an exhibit in the appendix, pp. 325-328.

²⁹ Venable testified in executive session on Oct. 6, 1965, and in public session on Feb. 15, 1966. His executive testimony was subsequently made public.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF KU KLUX KLAN

At some time between 1961 and the incorporation of the National Knights in 1963, both Venable and Butterworth broke with the United Klans of America and concentrated their efforts on attempting to unite all klan groups under their leadership. As early as the year 1960, Venable had participated in meetings along with William Hugh Morris and other klan leaders to explore possibilities of forming a monolithic klan movement along the lines of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Such efforts have had no success to date because the largest of the klan groups, the United Klans of America, has never shown interest in losing its identity by a merger with other klans.

Merger efforts did result in the creation in the early 1960's of a National Association of Ku Klux Klan,³⁰ over which Venable has served as "chairman" in recent years. This is nothing more than a loosely knit federation of small autonomous klans. Members of the association at present or in the recent past include the Association of Arkansas Klans; the Association of Georgia Klans; the Association of South Carolina Klans; Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.; Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; U.S. Klans; and the United Florida Ku Klux Klan.

Delegates from each member klan are supposed to meet three times each year. On September 6, 1964, the association elected the following slate of officers: James R. Venable, chairman; P. L. Morgan, of the Original Knights in Louisiana, klaliff; I. T. (Ted) Shearouse, Jr., of the Association of Georgia Klans, kligrapp and klabee; Charles H. Maddox, of the Association of Georgia Klans, klokard; H. G. Hill, of the National Knights, kludd; Walter Rogers, of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan, kladd; Flynn Harvey, of National Knights, klarogo; Robert E. Hodges, of the Association of South Carolina Klans, night-hawk. A short time later, Murry H. Martin, of the Original Knights of Louisiana, was appointed klokann chief for the association.

SCOPE OF NATIONAL KNIGHTS LIMITED

The National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan apparently began operating as an independent organization some time prior to its actual incorporation on November 1, 1963. Butterworth left the organization in 1964. The imperial klonselium (council) of the National Knights was composed in 1965 of Imperial Wizard Venable, H. G. Hill, imperial kludd, and William Hugh Morris, imperial klaliff.³¹

The National Knights organized klaverns in the States of Georgia, North Carolina, Ohio, Alabama, and Louisiana. The klan is a loose-knit organization, especially outside of the State of Georgia. Little leadership appears to be exerted by Venable outside of Georgia.

The klan is relatively ineffective and membership has always been small. As of January 1967, the committee estimates that the National

³⁰ The federation has also been referred to by its leaders as the National Association of Ku Klux Klan of America and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Association.

³¹ When William Hugh Morris appeared as a witness in the committee's public investigative hearings on Feb. 14, 1966, he testified that he was no longer a member of the klonselium of the National Knights.

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had a membership of approximately 100.

Committee investigation established the existence of 11 separate klaverns of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan located as follows: North Carolina, one klavern; Georgia, four klaverns; Alabama, one klavern; Louisiana, two klaverns; and Ohio, three klaverns.

The State of North Carolina has issued to the National Knights a certificate of authority to do business in that State. The State of Ohio, after issuing a charter to the National Knights, later revoked that charter in an effort to stop klan operations in that State.³² The National Knights during 1964 and 1965 had made a concerted effort to establish themselves as the main klan organization in Ohio. National Knights succeeded in creating at least three klaverns located at Columbus, Cincinnati, and Oregonia, Ohio. As of January 1967, however, these units were to all intents and purposes inactive. Parkie Scott, of Oregonia, is the nominal organizer for Venable in Ohio.

Despite his protestations that only men of good character are accepted as members of the National Knights, James Venable recruited into his organization two individuals with unsavory records who became his chief organizers. The individuals were Colbert Raymond McGriff, who was expelled from the United Klans of America after a shooting incident in Griffin, Ga., described in detail in another section of this report, and Earl Holcombe, whose record begins with violent demonstrations at the University of Georgia while still a member of the U.S. Klans.

Under the leadership of McGriff and Holcombe, a small violence-prone group was organized within the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Membership and activities of this group, known as the Black Shirts, were supposed to remain extremely secret. Committee investigation revealed that members of the Black Shirts of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan included such men as Joseph Howard Sims and Cecil Myers who, while members of the United Klans, were charged with the murder of Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn in July 1964.

Venable denies any knowledge of the existence of this hard-core group within his National Knights. He nevertheless was aware of the background of Holcombe and McGriff when he entrusted them with positions of responsibility within his organization. They have served on his degree team which administers oaths to prospective klansmen, and have been given charters and membership applications to organize on behalf of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Soon after the incident in which McGriff and other klansmen were involved in Griffin, Ga., in April 1964, a group led by McGriff and John Max Mitchell was formed in the area of Barnesville, Ga. This group was known as the Vigilantes. The Vigilantes, during their operation, espoused acts of violence against Negroes. They later formed the nucleus of a klavern of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan located in Barnesville, Ga.

³² The application for a certificate of authority to do business in the State of North Carolina, filed July 29, 1965, and articles of incorporation filed in the State of Ohio on Oct. 5, 1964 (and revoked by the secretary of state on Oct. 21, 1964), are reproduced as exhibits in the appendix, pp. 329-331, 332-334.

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

In the summer of 1965, what appeared to be a new klan was sponsoring rallies and recruiting members in the State of Ohio under the announced leadership of William Hugh Morris. The organization was called the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. It gave the public appearance of being an independent klan organization.

Committee investigation established, however, that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was created at a meeting of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., in Tucker, Ga., in April 1965. At this meeting—attended by National Knights officers James Venable, William Hugh Morris, H. G. Hill, and others—discussion indicated that the formation of an unincorporated Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was motivated by a desire to avoid possible legal problems confronting an incorporated klan organization. For example, delegates to the meeting were reportedly convinced that this committee's investigation of klan organizations would not extend to the subpoenaing of unincorporated klan groups.³³

At the meeting which established the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Morris was named "Imperial Wizard" (although he publicly used the title, "Imperial Emperor") and James Venable accepted the position of treasurer and legal counsel.

The only operations actually conducted in the name of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan were in the State of Ohio under the direction of Morris and Venable, assisted by other individuals actually holding membership in the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

As previously noted, the secretary of state in Ohio had revoked the Ohio charter of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., in 1964. The committee obtained a copy of a letter written by Venable on July 8, 1965, to an official of the National Knights in Ohio. This letter clearly revealed that the use of the name "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" was no more than a legal contrivance of the National Knights. Venable wrote:

* * * Since the charter of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was revoked (sic) in Ohio we cannot legally operate there in that name therefore Mr. Morris is operating under the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan which is not a chartered organization, just an association.

The committee was not surprised, therefore, that individuals associated with the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Ohio were also considered to be members of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Investigation further disclosed that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had for all practical purposes ceased to operate by the fall of 1965. This does not preclude the possibility that this organization, or a similar unchartered association, will be utilized by klan leaders in the future to circumvent technicalities of the law.

OTHER ENTERPRISES BY VENABLE

James R. Venable, with the assistance of Wally Butterworth, created a number of organizations which might most appropriately be de-

³³ When this committee subpoenaed William Hugh Morris as a witness in its public investigative hearings, it nevertheless called upon Morris to produce all books, records, etc., of the aforementioned Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Morris informed the committee that he did not have any records of the organization in his possession or control.

scribed as "fronts" for the ku klux klan. The deceptive titles of the organizations were undoubtedly aimed at reaching citizens who would reject an approach by an acknowledged klan.

The organizations were the Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, Inc., chartered by the State of Georgia on April 11, 1962; a subsidiary of the legion known as the Christian Voters & Buyers League;³⁴ and the Committee of One Million Caucasians To March on Congress, organized in February 1964.

Through the Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, Venable and Butterworth engaged in the period 1962-64 in an anti-Negro and anti-Jewish propaganda campaign. The campaign was based on the production and sale of printed publications and phonograph records, as well as broadcasts by Butterworth over a radio station in Atlanta, Ga. Literature circulated in the name of the Defensive Legion urged "patriots" to buy rifles, shotguns, pistols, walkie-talkies, and food supplies for the forthcoming "war" to "take back our country" from a "tyrannical" government. "Blood will surely flow," the Legion asserted, adding "Let it flow!" Phonograph records narrated by Butterworth also called upon citizens to arm themselves and prepare to serve in a "citizens militia."

The Committee of One Million Caucasians To March on Congress proposed a mass descent on the Nation's Capital on July 4, 1964, to "wrest control of the U.S. Government from the Communist hands of foreign Asiatic Jews and African Negroes * * *." Although Venable actually arrived in Washington on that July 4th weekend, the march fizzled. Contributing to its failure were disagreements between Venable and Butterworth over arrangements for the march, and the intrusion in the affair of George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party.

The Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, Inc., the Christian Voters & Buyers League, and the Committee of One Million Caucasians To March on Congress all became defunct in 1964, principally as a result of the parting of the ways of James Venable and Wally Butterworth.

THE UNITED FLORIDA KU KLUX KLAN

The United Florida Ku Klux Klan was created at a meeting at Orlando, Fla., on June 25, 1961, at which two previously independent klan groups were merged into a single unit.

Merged were the Florida Ku Klux Klan and the United Ku Klux Klan which hitherto had competed for members in the State of Florida.

The Florida KKK, whose origin dates back to 1955, sent delegates to meet with representatives of the United Ku Klux Klan, which at the time was an organization made up of some of the remnants of the Florida Realm of the U.S. Klans. Members of the U.S. Klan's Florida Realm had been in a state of confusion since the death of Imperial Wizard Eldon Edwards in August 1960. The United Ku Klux Klan preferred a merger with the Florida KKK to joining forces with the

³⁴ The charter of the Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, in which Venable held the office of president and Butterworth served as secretary, is reproduced as an exhibit in the appendix, pp. 335-338.

One of the propaganda campaigns of the subsidiary Christian Voters & Buyers League is discussed in some detail in ch. V of this report, p. 92.

then newly formed United Klans of America. It appears that there was a reluctance on the part of the members of the two Florida klans to pay dues to an organization having headquarters outside of the State of Florida.

As a result of the June 1961 convention, Jason E. Kersey, of Samsula, Fla., was named "Grand Dragon" of the new United Florida Ku Klux Klan. Kersey continues to serve as "grand dragon" which, rather than "imperial wizard," is the title of the chief executive officer of this organization. However, he has been in poor health since early 1965, and most of his duties have since been carried out by his son, Richard Kersey, of Samsula, the kligrapp (secretary); and Alton Cooksey, of Jacksonville, the klaliff (vice president). When Cooksey did not seek reelection as klaliff in September 1965, the Kersey family assumed sole direction of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan.³⁵ Headquarters of this group continues to be the home of Jason Kersey in Samsula, Fla.

After its establishment in 1961, the United Florida Ku Klux Klan became the dominant klan organization in the State. As of June 1966, the klan's dominance was being challenged by the United Klans of America whose Florida grand dragon, Boyd Hamby, has sought to lure UFKKK members into Shelton's organization. These attempts have had some success, particularly because Jason Kersey's illness has limited the activities of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan.

Committee investigation of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan revealed that 24 separate klaverns of that organization existed in the State at one time or another during the period 1964 through 1966.

As of January 1967, it is estimated that the active membership of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan was approximately 300, with the heaviest concentration in the areas of Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Lakeland.

Representatives of the group have continued to be part of the National Association of Ku Klux Klan under the chairmanship of James R. Venable.

ASSOCIATION OF ARKANSAS KLANs

Another minor klan, whose existence dates back to the midfifties when school desegregation became an issue in Arkansas, is the Association of Arkansas Klans.

Efforts by several organizations, mainly the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana and the United Klans of America, to absorb the small membership of this organization have been unsuccessful.

As of January 1967, to the best of the committee's knowledge, the Association of Arkansas Klans maintained two small klaverns in the State, operating as autonomous units.

The units were located at Pine Bluff in Jefferson County and at Texarkana in Miller County.

The committee has identified the leader of the former unit to be Bill Williams, who formerly served as grand dragon of the Association of Arkansas Klans. Leader of the latter unit is Luther Hardy

³⁵ Richard Kersey and numerous other State and local officers of the Klan were questioned at the committee's public hearings on Feb. 21 and 23, 1966.

Scott, who is known to have met with leaders of other klans, including P. L. Morgan of the Original Knights, in attempts to expand klan operations in Arkansas. Representatives of the Association of Arkansas Klans were not called as witnesses in the committee's investigative hearings.

As of January 1967, the committee estimates the active membership of the Association of Arkansas Klans at approximately 25 members.

ASSOCIATION OF GEORGIA KLANs

The Association of Georgia Klans was formed in 1960 by Charles Homer Maddox and other ex-members of the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, following the death of Eldon Edwards. This organization is not connected in any way with Samuel Green's Association of Georgia Klans which had become extinct by the early 1950's.

Headquarters of the Association of Georgia Klans is listed as Post Office Box 41, Bloomingdale, Ga. (near Savannah), which is the mailing address of Charles Maddox, the imperial wizard. Membership in this organization was estimated to be approximately 25 active members as of January 1967. At the start of the committee's investigation in 1965, weekly meetings of this group were held at 314 Whitaker Street, Savannah, Ga.

The Association of Georgia Klans, although relatively unimportant as an autonomous klan organization, is associated with the National Association of Ku Klux Klan, headed by James R. Venable.

No officers or members of this organization were subpoenaed to testify in the committee's investigative hearings.

THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA KLANs

The Association of South Carolina Klans was organized in the fall of 1955 by ex-members of the defunct Association of Carolina Klans.

As previously noted, the Association of Carolina Klans was formed in November 1949 by members who split away from the Association of Georgia Klans. The Association of Carolina Klans had purposes and policies identical to the Association of Georgia Klans but confined its activities to the States of North Carolina and South Carolina.

The Association of South Carolina Klans has restricted its recruitment and activities since its inception to the State of South Carolina. It has frequently sent representatives to klan meetings designed to explore consolidation of klan organizations in various States. It is presently one of the klans in the loose-knit confederation under the leadership of James R. Venable, known as the National Association of Ku Klux Klan. Meetings of this association have been irregular and infrequent, however, and the Association of Carolina Klans continues to retain its autonomy.

The announced purposes of the Association of South Carolina Klans is to promote white supremacy and combat integration of the races. The use of violence has been consistently disavowed by the leadership.

While the Association of South Carolina Klans is not incorporated by the State of South Carolina, it has used the name "Majority Citizens League of South Carolina," which was incorporated in the State in 1950. Both these organizations use Post Office Box 63, West Columbia, S.C., for mailing and recruitment purposes.

Activities of the ASCK from 1955 to the present time have included rallies and cross-burnings and picketing of integrated business places in addition to regular meetings and recruiting drives. Rallies of the organization in recent years have often featured speakers from other klans; a particular favorite is James Venable, imperial wizard of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Affairs of the ASCK are under the control of a grand council comprised of Aubrey Bolen, of Swansea, S.C.; Robert Hodges, Columbia, S.C. (a U.S. postal employee); Cecil Belton Mims, West Columbia, S.C.; William B. Davis, Anderson, S.C.; and Coy Robinson, Lancaster, S.C.

In conjunction with the Majority Citizens League of South Carolina, the Association of South Carolina Klans published a monthly newspaper, *Southland Standard*, from August through December 1961. Publication ceased for lack of financial support.

Investigation by the committee disclosed the existence of eight klaverns of the Association of South Carolina Klans which were active in South Carolina within the period 1964-66. The klaverns are listed on page 146 of this report.

No members or officers of this organization were called as witnesses in the committee hearings dealing with klan activities in the United States.

The committee estimates that approximately 250 members were enrolled in the Association of South Carolina Klans as of January 1967.

DIXIE KLANs, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC.

The origin of the Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., dates back to the summer of the year 1957 when several members were expelled from Klavern No. 1 of the U.S. Klan in Chattanooga, Tenn., by the late Imperial Wizard Eldon Edwards. The Chattanooga unit of U.S. Klans was headed by Jack William Brown, who became the imperial wizard of the new Dixie Klans. His brother, Harry Leon Brown, also became an incorporator and officer of the Dixie Klans after being expelled from the U.S. Klans.

The Dixie Klans received a corporate charter from the Tennessee secretary of state on October 25, 1957. Since that time, its activities and membership have been confined for the most part to the area around Chattanooga. Committee investigation revealed that the klan did, however, maintain active klaverns in the northwestern part of Georgia and another in the area of Anniston, Ala.

The Dixie Klans belonged to the National Association of Ku Klux Klan headed by James Venable, and leaders of the Chattanooga-based klan attended a number of meetings of this federation of smaller klan groups.

Until his death in the summer of 1965, Jack William Brown was the guiding force behind the Dixie Knights. This organization was always small in size and relatively ineffective. After Brown's death, leadership was assumed by Charles Macon Roberts, of Chattanooga, Tenn. In the summer of 1966 Roberts explored the possibility of merging the membership of the Dixie Klans into the United Klans of America. As of that time, the committee estimates that the Dixie

Klans had approximately 150 members residing in Tennessee and northern Georgia. Four klaverns known to have existed in the period 1964-66 are listed on page 146 of this report.

It might be noted that until the establishment of a Tennessee Realm of the United Klans of America in 1962, the Dixie Klans was the dominant klan in Tennessee.

Committee investigation disclosed that in its earlier years, the Dixie Klans was repeatedly involved in bombings and other acts of violence. In fact, Eldon Edwards had allegedly expelled his Chattanooga klavern, which later became the Dixie Knights, because he felt they were uncontrollable and too prone to violence.

When the committee started public hearings in 1965, the Dixie Knights had dwindled to a position of relative unimportance in the klan movement. No witnesses were called from this organization.

IMPROVED ORDER OF THE U.S. KLANS, KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, INC.

Circumstances surrounding the formation of the Improved Order of the U.S. Klans were discussed briefly in the preceding section dealing with the U.S. Klans.

E. E. George, whose klan membership dates back to the 1920's, has been the imperial wizard of the Improved Order since its incorporation in the State of Georgia in November 1963.³⁰ The headquarters of the organization is located at George's home in Lithonia, Ga.

At the time of its incorporation, this organization was comprised of all of the klaverns of the U.S. Klans from which it had split, except Klavern 297, which continued in the U.S. Klans.

In the period 1964-66, the Improved Order had seven klaverns located in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. They are listed on page 146 of this report.

The Jacksonville, Fla., klaverns are known to have been disbanded by December 1964. As of January 1967, most klaverns of the Improved Order were inactive.

Membership was estimated to be approximately 100 as of January 1967. Finances were small and the influence of this organization in the klan movement even smaller.

Representatives of this organization have attended meetings of the National Association of Ku Klux Klan headed by James Venable. No officers or members of the Improved Order of the U.S. Klans were subpoenaed to testify during the committee's investigative hearings.

MISSISSIPPI KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

The Mississippi Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was established in late 1958 under the leadership of Walter F. Bailey. Headquarters of the organization was at Gulfport, Miss.

This klan has always been very small in terms of membership and effectiveness, and at no time during its entire history has it had more than 25 active members.

³⁰ Articles of incorporation of the Improved Order of the U.S. Klans are reproduced as an exhibit in the appendix, pp. 339-342.

Since 1964, the Mississippi Knights has actually dwindled to a one-man operation. Walter Bailey's activities were apparently limited to infrequent meetings with leaders of other klans in the National Association of Ku Klux Klan.

The recent death of leader Walter Bailey has rendered this organization to all intents and purposes defunct.

MILITANT KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, FLORIDA

The Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was formed in the spring of 1965 in Jacksonville, Fla., by former members of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan, who left that organization because of the lack of militancy on the part of the UFKKK leadership.

Membership in this organization has been confined to the Jacksonville area, where one active klavern was established.

The number of members has always been small, and as of January 1967, the membership was approximately 25.

At the time of the committee's hearings, leadership of the Militant Knights was in the hands of Imperial Wizard Donald J. Ballentine, who appeared as a witness on February 23, 1966, and Grand Dragon Gene Foreman.

UNITED KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, FLORIDA

The United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan was created by dissatisfied members of the Florida Realm of the United Klans of America at a convention held at Melbourne, Fla., on October 24, 1965.

Grand dragon of the new klan is Charles B. "Rip" Riddlehoover of Fort Lauderdale, who was interrogated at this committee's public investigative hearings on February 23, 1966. Riddlehoover and other former officers of the Florida section of the United Klans of America left Shelton's organization because of disagreements with Shelton's Florida grand dragon, Donald Cothran. Riddlehoover's faction had charged Cothran with mismanagement of klan funds and dictatorial methods, including staging a mock election to put handpicked men in important posts in the UKA's Florida organization.

Initially, the United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan threatened to take over all of the Florida membership of the UKA except for those few klansmen who were loyal to Cothran. The group included individuals with previous convictions for felonies, and its leaders were known to have made threats of violence. Riddlehoover and his top lieutenant, Jack Grantham, were arrested in Miami in October 1965 on a traffic violation charge, to which was added a gun-carrying charge against the grand dragon. Publicity given to the klan's operations and leadership as a result of the arrests helped to restrict the expansion of the new klan.

Although the United Knights has never really gotten off the ground as an effective klan organization, the defection of Riddlehoover and others caused internal problems in the Florida operation of the UKA from which the latter has not fully recovered.

The United Knights is known to have established one klavern in the Davie, Fla. (Broward County), area, which is also known as the

Broward Fellowship Club. Its entire membership, as of January 1967, was approximately 50 active members.

KNIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, FLORIDA

This very small klan group under the leadership of Bill Hendrix meets at Hendrix's home in Oldsmar, Fla. It numbers less than 10 persons. Its only activity in the past 5 years has been its infrequent meetings.

Hendrix is a klan leader of long standing and has called his klan organization, at various times, the Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Southern-Northern Knights, Knights of the White Camellia, Order of the Rattlesnake, and Konsolidated Ku Klux Klans of the Invisible Empire.

In 1961, Hendrix had publicly announced his retirement from active klan participation because he disapproved of the violence inherent in klan organizations.

SUMMARY OF LEADERSHIP, LOCATION, AND STRENGTH OF 15 KLAN ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

1. Association of Arkansas Klans:
Headquarters: Pine Bluff, Ark.
Imperial wizard: None.
Membership: Estimated to be approximately 25, confined to State of Arkansas.
2. Association of Georgia Klans:
Headquarters: Bloomingdale, Ga.
Imperial wizard: Charles Homer Maddox.
Membership: As of January 1967, estimated to be approximately 25, confined to area of Savannah, Ga.
3. Association of South Carolina Klans:
Headquarters: West Columbia, S.C.
Imperial wizard: Aubrey E. Bolen.
Membership: As of January 1967, estimated to be approximately 250, confined to the State of South Carolina.
4. Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.:
Headquarters: Chattanooga, Tenn.
Imperial wizard: Charles Macon Roberts.
Has operated in Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama.
Membership: As of January 1967, estimated to be approximately 150.
5. Improved Order of the U.S. Klans, Inc.:
Headquarters: Lithonia, Ga.
Imperial wizard: E. E. George.
Has operated in Georgia, Alabama, Florida; most klaverns now inactive.
Membership: As of January 1967, approximately 100.
6. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Florida:
Headquarters: Oldsmar, Fla.
Leader: Bill Hendrix.
Membership: Approximately 10 as of January 1967, with operations confined to Pinellas County, Fla.

7. Militant Knights of the Ku Klux Klan:
Headquarters: Jacksonville, Fla.
Last known imperial wizard: Donald Ballentine.
Membership: Estimated to be approximately 25, confined to State of Florida as of January 1967.
8. Mississippi Knights of the KKK:
Headquarters: Gulfport, Miss.
Imperial wizard: None since death of Walter F. Bailey.
Membership: Approximately five, as of June 1966; considered defunct as of January 1967.
9. National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.:
Headquarters: Tucker, Ga.
Imperial wizard: James R. Venable.
Has operated in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Ohio.
Membership: Estimated to be approximately 100, as of January 1967.
10. Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan:
Headquarters: Factions operate independently from Winnsboro and Bogalusa, La.
Imperial wizard: Competing sets of officers since organization split by factionalism.
Has operated in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas.
Membership: Estimated at approximately 250, as of January 1967.
11. U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.:
Headquarters: College Park, Ga.
Imperial wizard: H. J. Jones.
Operation reduced to one active klavern after having been dominant klan organization in United States from 1955 to 1961.
Membership: As of January 1967, estimated to be approximately 50.
12. United Florida Ku Klux Klan:
Headquarters: Samsula, Fla.
Grand dragon: Jason E. Kersey.
Membership: Estimated to be approximately 300, as of January 1967, with operations confined to the State of Florida.
13. United Klans of America, Inc.:
Headquarters: Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Imperial wizard: Robert M. Shelton.
Operates actively in 18 States, with at least 556 klaverns having been established at one time or another in the period 1964-1966.
Membership: Estimated at approximately 15,075 as of early 1967.
This national klan movement includes the following State operations:

State	Grand dragon	Headquarters	Number of klaverns, 1964-66	Estimated membership, January 1967
Alabama	James Spears		40	1,200
Arkansas	George McNeely	Strong	10	150
Delaware	Not definitely established since vacated by Ralph Pryor		5	10
Florida	Boyd Hamby	Titusville	27	400
Georgia	Calvin Craig	Atlanta, Ga.	57	1,400
Louisiana	Vacant (formerly Jack Helm)	State operation directed by Robert Shelton from Tuscaloosa	30	700
Maryland	Vernon Naimaster	Baltimore	4	25
Michigan	Vacant (formerly Edward L. McDaniel)	State operation directed by Robert Shelton from Tuscaloosa	3	200
Mississippi			76	750
New Jersey	Not definitely established since resignation of King Kleagle Frank W. Rotella, Jr.		0	(2)
New York	King Kleagle William Hoff		1	25
North Carolina	J. Robertson Jones	Granite Quarry	192	7,500
Ohio	Jim Harris	Cincinnati	4	100
Pennsylvania	Roy Frankhauser	Reading	1	50
South Carolina	Robert Scoggin	Spartanburg	50	800
Tennessee	Raymond Anderson	Maryville	10	225
Texas	Jack Cannon		14	200
Virginia	Marshall R. Kornegay	South Hill	32	1,250

¹ Figures quoted apply as of March 1967.

² Negligible.

14. United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan:
Headquarters: Davie, Fla.
Imperial wizard: Charles B. Riddlehoover.
Membership: Estimated to be approximately 50, with operations confined to State of Florida, as of January 1967.
 15. White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi:
Headquarters: Laurel, Miss.
Imperial wizard: Samuel H. Bowers.
Membership: Dwindled to approximately 400 active members as of January 1967, confined to State of Mississippi.
- Overall summary: Total estimated membership of all klan organizations as of early 1967 is approximately 16,810. Of this number, 15,075 members were enrolled in the United Klans of America headed by Robert Shelton. The remaining 1,735 members belonged to 13 other klans listed above.³⁷

³⁷ No estimates are included for three very recently formed klan groups referred to on p. 18 of this chapter.

CHAPTER III. SECRECY AND RITUAL OF THE KLANS

RITUAL

With the exception of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, all present-day active klan organizations borrow their ritual and kloranic degrees from the old Knights of the Ku Klux Klan which operated from 1915 to 1944.

The four basic kloranic degrees of a ku klux klan organization are named: the "Order of Citizenship or K-Uno" (probationary); "Knights Kamellia or K-Duo" (primary order of knighthood); "Knights of the Great Forest or K-Trio" (the order of American chivalry); and the "Knights of the Midnight Mystery or K-Quad" (superior order of the knighthood and spiritual philosophies). Klan ritual provides for a klan language which extends beyond the nomenclature for its officers and organizational subdivisions already described. There are klan colors, and a klan kalendar in which a special system of keeping time has been devised. Secret handclaps and spoken greetings are supposed to help a klansman recognize a brother member of the order without revealing membership to outsiders.

Procedures for conducting a klavern meeting and other klan ritual work are set forth in a booklet titled "The Kloran."

Committee investigation with regard to the use of rituals revealed that present-day klans in the United States, in distinct contrast to the practice in Simmons' organization in the 1920's, pay only lipservice to prescribed ceremonies. With regard to the four kloranic degrees referred to above, only the first degree has ever been administered in any klan, in spite of the 100-year history of the movement. Probationary citizenship binds a person to the klan oath and renders him liable for monthly dues thereafter. When this primary initiation ceremony is held, it usually takes place at the recruit's first klan meeting.

Committee investigation revealed that the United Klans of America has not engaged in any degree ritual beyond ceremonies for the first order of citizenship. William Hugh Morris, who testified to membership in various klan organizations dating back to 1924 and has most recently been associated with the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, copyrighted a booklet entitled "K-Duo." This is the only evidence that the committee uncovered to suggest that any klan organization has even considered going beyond the first order of citizenship. No modern-day klan organization has been known to confer this secondary order of citizenship on any of its members, however. Testimony from longtime klan leaders such as James R. Venable suggests that as far as the modern-day klans are concerned, the third and fourth orders of citizenship have never even been written, much less bestowed upon any present klan member.

The committee finds that ritual receives very little emphasis in modern klans. Even the initiation ceremony is falling into disuse.

Committee investigation revealed that, while most klan constitutions require a member to receive the degree of K-Uno, most klansmen actually become members merely by signing an application and paying an initiation fee (klektokon). Even the application for membership is an insignificant document. After execution, it is immediately destroyed.

SECRECY

✓ Secrecy is the cornerstone of every klan's structure. It is also essential to the success of their operations.

Committee investigation reveals that secrecy has enabled a relatively few klansmen to operate outside the law as vigilante groups to "deal with" those whom the particular klan group or klan leader opposes. It has made it possible for a few organized klansmen, whose strength in numbers is minute compared to total population, to obtain influence and power in local communities.

Secrecy becomes the way of life of a klansman from the moment he takes his oaths of allegiance to his klan. All operations of a klansman thereafter are withheld from the public with the exception of certain public activities which the klan leadership may decide upon. Within the individual klavern, for example, strict security is maintained with respect to the identity of klan officers and members, sources of klan finances, klan rituals, klan meetings, and special "projects."

Committee investigation revealed that klan organizations employ a variety of internal security procedures to maintain the veil of secrecy surrounding their operations. Private meetings of klansmen are protected by inner and outer guards, who prevent intrusion from those not authorized to enter.

In some cases, klan officials search the persons of members suspected of collaboration with law enforcement agencies, looking for listening devices or notes taken at meetings. The klan is extremely sensitive to penetration by law enforcement agencies.

The committee's hearings documented the fact that high frequency citizens band radios and low frequency walkie-talkies are utilized to provide additional security for klan meetings, whether on klavern or higher levels. Inner and outer guards use these two-way radios to warn the secret conclaves of the movements of strangers who pose a threat to the security of the meetings.

Klansmen are also known to have used citizens band radios to intercept police radio messages in order to time their movements so as to avoid interception by police. Intelligence from such sources has furthermore been an aid to klansmen harassing civil rights advocates. Knowing police locations, klan leaders can position their forces where there is least risk of observation and apprehension by officers of the law.

SUPERSECRET "ACTION" GROUPS

A most sinister and dangerous aspect of klan secrecy is the formation of small hard-core groups within the klan organization whose membership and activities are unknown to the general membership. Committee investigation disclosed that atrocities committed by klansmen are generally conceived and executed by selected groups of trusted members whose participation in such activities is not known to other

members. Most of the violence and extra-legal activities of the klans are committed by these highly secret "action groups" within the klan.

The groups range in size from three to as many as a dozen men, and they plan the commission of lawless acts outside of regular klavern meetings. The operations of these action groups should not obscure the fact that violence is also often discussed at klavern meetings. In the case of a UKA klavern in McComb, Miss., slips of paper identifying victims of future klan violence were drawn by lot by klansmen attending a regular session of their klavern.

Frequently, action groups emulate big-city gangsters in that unlawful acts in a particular locality may be committed by members of an action group from a distant area called in at the request of the local klavern. Committee investigation revealed that members of these hard-core groups are usually given military and other special training by instructors who are ex-servicemen with experience in these fields. The groups have practiced judo, karate, firing of pistols and rifles, and received instruction in the use of explosives, demolition devices, and incendiaries. Most members of these groups have accumulated supplies of weapons, ammunition, and explosives and they spend much of their time discussing these subjects.

Proof of the existence of klan groups as described above was presented at the committee's public hearings. A few are cited from the hearing record.

In the South Carolina Realm of the United Klans of America, members of an action group known as the Underground met in secret (outside of regular klavern meetings) to discuss and plan specific acts of violence. Members of the Underground were extremely militant and prone to violence. Committee investigation revealed that the members took training in marksmanship and accumulated a large number of weapons. It is understood that the existence of this organization, whose first leader was Furman Dean Williams, was known to the UKA's grand dragon for South Carolina, Robert Scoggin. Scoggin gave this organization at least tacit approval by taking no action, to the committee's knowledge, to disband it or expel its members from the United Klans.

Within the Georgia Realm of the United Klans of America is Clayton County Klavern No. 52, also known as the Clayton Civic Club, Inc. A subgroup of hard-core members was organized by Exalted Cyclops Robert Bing and named the "White Band." Its primary purpose was to plan and execute acts of harassment and intimidation against Negroes. Members of the White Band held meetings apart from those attended by the general membership of the klavern. Subgroup members took extensive training in the use of firearms and demolition devices, as well as in judo and karate.

It should be noted, however, that the Clayton County Klavern itself sponsored such training for the general klan membership and even permitted attendance by members of other klan organizations. This training took place on numerous occasions at the farm of Exalted Cyclops Bing in Henry County, Ga.¹ The knowledge which these klansmen received during training sessions in explosives and incendiary devices was to be put to use to frustrate Negro efforts to achieve constitutional rights as affirmed by legislative acts and judicial edicts.

¹ See ch. VI for more details on such klan training.

In most klaverns of the United Klans of America, as well as in some other klan organizations, there is a group of appointed officers known as the klokann² who serve on a klokann committee. According to the UKA constitution, their functions are to audit the financial records of the klavern, to investigate prospective members of the klan, and to carry out such other duties as the exalted cyclops or other klan leaders deem necessary. Evidence uncovered by committee investigation, however, reveals that more often than not the klokann committee serves as a small strong-arm squad entrusted with planning and executing acts of intimidation and harassment.

Working with the klavern klokann is the intelligence committee. As prescribed in the United Klans of America manual, "The Klan In Action," the duties of the intelligence committee are:

- (a) To protect the Klan from the actions of unfaithful members; to investigate members whose actions are suspicious or who seem to show lack of proper regard for any part of their oath.
- (b) To protect the Order by advising of spies and enemies within the Klan.
- (c) To find the sources of all adverse propaganda reported by the Propaganda Committee.
- (d) To keep the Exalted Cyclops informed on all matters of controversy within the Klanton.
- (e) To investigate other societies and organizations.
- (f) To assist the Klokann.
- (g) To obtain evidence against public officials who are not administering their official duties according to law and American principles.
- (h) To investigate all cases of discrimination against Klansmen.
- (i) To investigate all cases of fraud within the Klanton.

The activities of the intelligence committee are kept secret from most other klansmen. Thus, the average klansman considers its membership to be identical with that of the klokann committee. For this reason, most information furnished to the Committee on Un-American Activities relating to klan investigators and klan violence involved the klokann rather than the intelligence committee. This confused situation, whereby the impression was created that an intelligence committee did not exist, added to the security of members of the intelligence committee. Functions of that committee are comparable to the Klan Bureau of Investigation of the White Knights and the wrecking crews of the Original Knights.

The White Knights Klan Bureau of Investigation carried out its intelligence functions under the leadership of grand, province and imperial investigators. These investigators would appoint individual klansmen or entire klaverns to assist in intelligence gathering or violent reprisal against those classified as "enemy." This set-up permitted the investigator on State or province level to send klansmen to conduct investigations or participate in violence in areas of the State of Mississippi where the klansmen were strangers to the local klan organization and law enforcement authorities.

² Klokann is the plural form for klokann (investigator), according to the UKA constitution.

Within the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana, terroristic duties were entrusted to so-called wrecking crews appointed by the klokann (klavern investigator). The Original Knights constitution decreed that each klavern must have at least one team of six men "to be used for wrecking crew." The men were to be appointed by the klokann "in secrecy."

With respect to the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, led by James R. Venable, the committee has already called attention to the operations of a highly secret, militant, and violence-prone subgroup called the Black Shirts. The group is also known as the Black Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and its activity since its formation in 1965 is not revealed to the general klan membership. In their appearances in public, these men are clad entirely in black. They are led by men who also serve as organizers for the National Knights, namely, Earl Holcombe and Colbert Raymond McGriff.

The nucleus of this group which affiliated with the National Knights comes from the area of Barnesville, Ga., and had operated in 1964 as the Vigilantes. A number had earlier been associated with the United Klans of America, and quit the UKA after an incident in Griffin, Ga., in April 1964 in which some of them were arrested. The Griffin incident involved intimidating a Negro at his place of business. As a result of the arrests, a large quantity of arms and ammunition was confiscated by the Griffin police. The Black Shirts include as members such men as Cecil William Myers and Joseph Howard Sims who, while affiliated with the United Klans of America, were charged with involvement in the Lemuel Penn murder in July 1964.

THE KLAN OATH

The importance of secrecy is driven home to each klan recruit when he takes a series of oaths at the time of admission to klan membership.

Klan oaths involve many obligations. The individual promises to obey klan rules and officers, be faithful to the organization, practice "klanishness" with fellow klansmen, and protect the secrecy of the order and its members.

The section of the oath governing secrecy states:

I most solemnly swear—that I will forever—keep sacredly secret—the signs, words and grip—and any and all other—matters and knowledge—of the [klan]—regarding which a most rigid secrecy—must be maintained—which may at any time—be communicated to me—and will never—divulge same nor even cause same to be divulged—to any person in the whole world—unless I know positively—that such person is a member of this Order—in good and regular standing—and not even then—unless it be—for the best interest of this Order.

I most sacredly vow—and most positively swear—that I will never yield to bribe—flattery—threats—passion—punishment—persecution—persuasion—nor any enticements whatever—coming from or offered by—any person or persons—male or female—for the purpose of—obtaining from me—a secret or secret information—of the [klan]—I will die rather than divulge same—so help me God—³

³ The oath quoted here is used by the United Klans of America and most of the major klan organizations. It is reproduced in full in the appendix, pp. 343-346.

The oath of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi, which is an exhibit to the committee's public hearings on klan organizations, differs in a number of respects from the above-quoted oath. Some of the differences are noted in that section of ch. II dealing with the White Knights. See p. 45.

Included in this oath are certain exemptions which, the committee has already observed, lack practical application:

I swear that I will keep secure to myself—a secret of a [klan]sman—when same is committed to me—in the sacred bond of [klan]smanship—the crime of violating this solemn oath—treason against the United States of America—rape—and malicious murder—alone excepted.

The dangers and potential abuse of such an oath are obvious. The klansman is saying, in effect, that he is bound never to reveal, even to an officer of the law, the commission of any crime, except treason, murder, and rape. Yet, in the trial of Collie Leroy Wilkins, the UKA imperial klonsel (lawyer) accused Gary Rowe, an FBI undercover klansman, of violating his klan oath by reporting the involvement of fellow UKA members in the Viola Liuzzo murder. The reaction of the United Klans of America to Rowe's testimony clearly established that a klansman with knowledge of murder is not exempt from the oath of secrecy.

The oath unequivocally silences klansmen with knowledge of the planning and execution of a flogging, bombing, act of arson, or similar violent and criminal deed. The implications are all the more ominous when an officer of the law is also a member of the klan. If his klan oath supersedes his oath to uphold the law, he could not possibly take action against a fellow klansman who he knows has engaged in illegal acts.

Tactics adopted by Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton of the United Klans of America during this committee's public hearings apparently were intended to emphasize the superiority of a klan oath over other oaths. Klansmen repeatedly invoke the name of the Almighty when they take their oath of allegiance to the United Klans of America. When Imperial Wizard Shelton was called to the witness stand by this committee in October 1965, the chairman administered the following oath:

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Shelton pointedly refused to take this oath. Instead, he merely affirmed, without reference to God, that he would be truthful in his testimony. The same procedure was followed by Mrs. Shelton, Shelton's former office secretary, Carol Long, and the UKA's imperial chaplain, George Dorsett, when they were called to testify before the committee.

The committee found that klan organizations do not rely on a simple oath to maintain the security of their operations. Klan threats, harassment, and outright physical violence have been employed to prevent klan members and former members from talking too much. A particularly vicious kind of retaliation threatened, and sometimes carried out, by klan leaders is directed at the wives and children of suspected klan security risks.

The explanation which the United Klans of America offers to the public to justify the secret nature of the organization does little to improve its image. Recruiting literature issued by the United Klans under the title "The Seven Symbols of the Klan,"⁴ refers to the klansman's hood thusly:

⁴The leaflet, "The Seven Symbols of the Klan," is reproduced as an exhibit in the appendix, pp. 347-352.

That hated hood, the terror of every evil force in the land, how they cry, "take off the hood." But they don't know what they say. They do not understand why we wear it or what it means. "If they only knew!"

In the first place it helps to conceal our membership. The secret of our power lies in the secrecy of our membership. We are a great secret organization to aid the officers of the law and we can do our best work when we are not known to the public. By this means we see and hear everything. We know the evil forces but they do not know us. By our secret membership we gather thousands into the meshes of the law that would otherwise escape.

Such words actually serve as justification for lawless elements within the klan to take the law into their own hands, and create a host of new problems for law enforcement officers.

SECRECY OF THE WHITE KNIGHTS

The White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi has made such a fetish of secrecy that its entire operation is "underground."

A number of mimeographed directives, not identified on their face as to source, were traced by the committee to their origin in the headquarters of the White Knights. One such directive, labeled "Secrecy,"⁵ described that quality as the "greatest asset" which the klan as a militant organization possessed. A second directive, under the title "Executive Lecture of March 1, 1964,"⁶ listed procedures for White Knights members to follow to maintain the "security" of their organization. Security was defined as including the ability of a unit and its members to remain undetected by outsiders and the ability of a unit to protect its meetings from detection and intrusion from outsiders.

Behavior of klansmen on the way to and from klan meetings was discussed. "Train yourself to see yourself as a skilled detective would see you," the directive urged. Precautions in recruiting new members included the warning: "Remember, the men who join you are going to be walking around with *your* life in *their* hands."

Additional instructions covered the roles of a klavern security officer and armed klavern guards, use of mail drops and coded telephone conversations, ways to avoid identification from written or printed communications, and keeping records in code. Security precautions even provided for the separation of members within the same klavern. For example, some members of a klavern could be identified as members only by the individual who had personally recruited him.

⁵The directive titled "Secrecy" is reproduced on p. 70 and the complete text of "Executive Lecture of March 1, 1964" appears on pp. 164-168. White Knights Imperial Wizard Sam Holloway Bowers, Jr., and other klan officers invoked their constitutional privileges against self-incrimination when interrogated by this committee about such documents on Feb. 1, 1966.

[HAROLD DELK EXHIBIT NO. 1—JANUARY 14, 1966]

SECRECY

No serious person will question the fact that SECRECY is the greatest asset which this organization possesses on the militant side of its nature. It is second in importance only to our Christian Spirit and Motivation which is the basis for our inspiration and the Cause of whatever success we may achieve.

Every member must keep the concept of SECRECY uppermost in his mind at all times as he keeps the Spirit of Christ uppermost in his heart at all times. Secrecy must become second nature to all members, and they must learn to keep still without even thinking about it.

It is very difficult for the new member to adapt himself to this concept and each recruiter must impress it in a very forcible manner on each new member from the very first. The new member is usually so thrilled and enthusiastic that he is unable to contain himself and may say or do something that will reveal his affiliation to our sharp eyed and sharp eared enemies who are all about us, watching. This danger must be recognized by the trained recruiter.

New members must be impressed with the understanding that they are "green" to the concept of Secrecy, and that they must be more than careful. "A slip of the lip, may sink the ship." The communists have a saying: "Nothing is unimportant." Our members must realize this and slip nothing by word, manner or deed that an enemy could turn into worthwhile information.

Secrecy is not only a tight lip, but a tight mahber. Members should avoid "getting together" on the outside of a meeting and gossiping. This is the most deadly work, that any group of men have ever been engaged in, and we must be deadly careful about it. Avoid using the name of the organization at all times. It is not necessary to use that name in conversation with a fellow member in order to make yourself understood. Develop the habit of talking in such a way that even if someone was to overhear your conversation, he would not be able to understand what it was that you were talking about. Develop your own private, substitute names for all proper names and offices in the organization.

Secrecy is more than just not talking. True Secrecy is a HARDENED MENTAL ATTITUDE by which an individual convinces HIMSELF that he is not a member and that there is no such organization. Secrecy is Mental Discipline and necessary for Victory. When a member is so able to discipline himself, he is not going to ACCIDENTALLY make slips of tongue and manner, and until he DOES so discipline himself he will continue to make such slips.

When the Veil of Secrecy is closed, each member should immediately change his personality back to the person that he was before he became a member, and reenter the Alien world as an Alien, with the knowledge of the Organization buried deep in his consciousness.

Members should learn how to steer conversations away from subjects which are related to the organization and its work. Members should always direct the attention of of aliens with whom they converse TOWARD the Communist Enemy and Sympathizers and AWAY from ourselves.

The very highest essence of Secrecy is Deliberate Deception, but only highly Skilled extremely alert or gifted members should attempt this. It is extremely dangerous and requires a precise understanding of the Enemy. All members, however, should work and study in order to become proficient at this work of Deliberate Deception. When in doubt as to your ability to deceive, just remain silent and innocent.

COVER NAMES AND FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Like the Communist Party, the various klans make wide use of cover names and front organizations. They are facades to conceal from the public the klan and its true role in certain political, agitational, and propaganda activities.

The cover names and the titles of front organizations selected by klan leaders usually give the impression that the klan is a sporting club or a civic association.

A glance at the list of klaverns in this report⁶ shows many local klan units masquerading as rescue services, hunting and fishing clubs, rifle clubs, sportsmen's clubs, and improvement associations. As previously stated, financial transactions of the imperial (national) office of the United Klans of America are conducted in the cover name, "Alabama Rescue Service."

Committee investigation documented the fact that, in addition to the use of cover names described above, klans in southern communities create what purport to be separate and autonomous organizations. Actually, they are fronts created and controlled by the klan. In some cases a klan has legally incorporated front organizations. The front, of course, has no apparent connection with a klan-type group. Examples of such front organizations would include fronts in Alabama for the United Klans of America known as *Heritage Enterprises, Inc.*, and the *Whiteman's Defense Fund*; a front of the White Knights in Mississippi titled *White Christian Protective and Legal Defense Fund*; and two previously discussed fronts of the National Knights in Georgia—*Defensive Legion of Registered Americans, Inc.*, and the *Christian Voters & Buyers League*.

Sometimes a klan organization or a local klavern of a klan has obtained a corporate charter to do business under the cover name it had adopted. Examples include:

The *Clayton Civic Club, Inc.*,⁷ was incorporated in the State of Georgia in January 1965. This organization has engaged in business ventures and in attempts to take part in the civic and social affairs of the city of Jonesboro and surrounding areas (slightly south of Atlanta). Nevertheless, the club is identical to Clayton County Klavern No. 52, Realm of Georgia, United Klans of America.

The *New Hanover County Improvement Association, Inc.*,⁷ was incorporated in the State of North Carolina in June 1964 as an alleged charitable and educational corporation which would teach "patriotism" and support of the Constitution and laws of the United States. This organization operates in the area of Wilmington, N.C., with no ostensible connection to any klan organization. In reality it is a klavern of the North Carolina Realm of the United Klans of America.

The *Adams County Civic and Betterment Association*,⁷ was incorporated in the State of Mississippi in August 1964 for the publicly stated purpose of advancing "the educational, civic, and social interests" of the county and encouraging voter registration and voting.

⁶ See pp. 145-163.

⁷ Articles of incorporation filed with a secretary of state by the named organizations are reproduced as exhibits in the appendix to this report. See pp. 353-355, 356-358, 359-361, and 362-365.

This organization was once a klavern of the White Knights of the KKK of Mississippi. Its entire membership defected to the United Klans of America and as a result it now operates as a klavern of the United Klans.

The *Anti-Communist Christian Association*⁷ was incorporated in the State of Louisiana in January 1965. The incorporators informed the secretary of state that the association, with headquarters in Bogalusa, La., sought to preserve the State constitution and the U.S. Constitution "as originally written," to promote Christian civilization, and to fight communism. The association, in fact, was a cover for that faction of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan which operated in the area of Bogalusa. It was led by klan officers Charles Christmas and Saxon Farmer.

In all examples listed above, the incorporators (or officers in the case of unincorporated groups) were identified as being members of a klan. Committee investigation determined that the activities of these organizations were designed to benefit the interests of the respective klan organizations. Private meetings of those organizations identified as mere covers for a klavern were identical to meetings of a klavern, while the other organizations such as the Whiteman's Defense Fund were dominated and controlled by klan officers and members.

INFILTRATION

Like the iceberg, the bulk of a klan's membership, by design, is concealed from the general public. Also by design, an individual's membership is concealed from members of other local units and from most of the officers holding positions of responsibility on local or national levels of the klan structure.

Local klaverns protect the identity of members by destroying applications and by recording members by numerical designations. Local klaverns are not required to, and in fact do not, report the identity of their members to any higher headquarters.

This secrecy of membership creates conditions whereby klansmen are often able to infiltrate at will areas where their presence can contribute substantially to the influence and power of the klan. By concealing their membership, klansmen have run for public office and have been elected. They have obtained appointments as State and local law enforcement officers, as well as positions of trust within a political subdivision, local or State.

Due to limited staff, the committee was unable to conduct investigations into the backgrounds of all individuals identified as klansmen during the course of its inquiry. It did, however, document numerous instances of successful infiltration by klansmen into positions of responsibility in their communities. The committee's continuing investigation after its hearings had been concluded produced additional evidence of this. While this report reflects these findings, individual identifications will not be made because the persons concerned have not been confronted with the results of the committee's investigation.

Considering the number of members of police and sheriff's departments and their auxiliaries in the Southern States, committee findings reflect a minor infiltration in this area. It therefore appears unques-

tionable that the overwhelming majority of law enforcement officers are dedicated to preserving law and order. However, even a minor infiltration is harmful to the law enforcement community. Just as one bad officer of the law throws suspicion on the entire department, one policeman who holds membership in the klan and who permits the klan to violate the law, brings the entire department under suspicion of those who seek protection from the klan. This situation also produces other problems affecting the entire community. In Natchez, Miss., klansmen in the police department, supported by the local klan, have been trying to remove the non-klan chief and to have him replaced by a klansman or someone who will not oppose the klan. If they are successful, their success will be derived from their secret klan membership.

The Governor of Mississippi rightly found that klan membership was not compatible with employment as highway patrolmen and therefore removed several klansmen from such employment. If state administrations outside Mississippi and southern municipal authorities would follow the lead of Governor Johnson, there would be fewer klan members within city or state police departments.

With respect to sheriffs and deputy sheriffs, the responsibility for infiltration of these departments rests largely with the people. Throughout the South, the sheriff is elected to his office. Thereafter, the sheriff appoints his deputies and members of the auxiliary. The committee subpoenaed Sheriff Marion W. Millis of New Hanover County, North Carolina, because its investigation established that the sheriff and certain of his deputies were ideological members of the United Klans of America. Following the service of his subpoena but prior to his sworn testimony, he attempted to deceive the committee by denying to the committee staff that he had held klan membership. Under oath, he admitted klan membership but contended that he and his deputies joined for intelligence purposes. In spite of this latter claim, neither the sheriff nor his deputies prepared reports or maintained files on klan activities within New Hanover County. Although these facts were publicized, Millis nevertheless was reelected as sheriff.

In the area of law enforcement, klansmen were found to be sheriffs or deputies, police chiefs and policemen, highway patrolmen, constables, justices of peace, or state game wardens.

The committee is also disturbed by the fact that there are other law officers, not established to be klan members, who give aid and comfort or funds to klans. A sheriff attended a victory banquet in September, 1964, at Lawrenceville, Ga., following the acquittal of those tried for the murder of Lt. Col. Penn. Other sheriffs and police chiefs have made financial contributions to klans located within their jurisdiction.

Ralph Roton admitted as a witness before this committee that he held an official position within the United Klans of America, and that he had been appointed by Imperial Wizard Shelton as a klan investigator. Roton further acknowledged that, with the endorsement of the then Governor of Alabama, he had been appointed to the staff of a State legislative commission in 1963. Roton told the committee his work as an investigator for the Alabama commission had the same scope as his investigations for the United Klans. He testified under oath that neither the Governor nor the chairman of the commission knew him to be a klansman. The chairman of the State legislative group

advised that if he had known of the affiliation, the klansman would not have been hired. No one knows the extent to which klan intelligence was fed through this employment. The testimony of the witness is not helpful in this regard.

In Bogalusa, La., City Attorney Robert T. Rester⁸ held membership in the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Some acquittals of known klansmen and, on the other hand, questionable prosecutions of some civil rights advocates in Rester's jurisdiction, resulted in a breakdown of respect for law and order. While klan violence actually brought about Federal intervention and the issuance of a Federal injunction against the klan and its leaders in Bogalusa, vigorous and fair application of the law might have averted the need for Federal intervention.

One klan official named during the committee's hearings was later identified by the press as being a member of the Mississippi Legislature, while one additional member of that State's legislature was identified as a klansman during the committee's continuing investigation.

At least one Georgia mayor was identified as a klansman and subpoenaed as a witness. However, upon the presentation of medical evidence that an appearance would be most detrimental to his health, the subpoena was cancelled.

⁸ Robert T. Rester, testifying in public session on Jan. 7, 1966, denied klan membership at the time of his appearance before the committee but invoked his constitutional privileges against self-incrimination with respect to past membership in the klan.

CHAPTER IV. KLAN OBJECTIVES, REAL AND IMAGINARY

Of the two dozen or so objectives publicly professed by present-day klans, only one is advanced with sincerity, according to a former highly placed officer in the United Klans. This "sincere" aim is the promotion of so-called white supremacy.

Klan oaths, constitutions, and other statements of principles unflinchingly declare the klansmen's intention to "maintain forever segregation of the races and the divinely directed and historically proven supremacy of the white race."¹

From the evidence produced by committee hearings and investigations, most of the organized efforts of the klans—public and covert—are directed toward this white supremacist goal. The covert methods adopted by klansmen in pursuit of the objective range from murder to threats and intimidation. Illustrations are provided in chapter VI of this report. Public klan activity with the same purpose—such as rallies, boycotts, and political action—are described in detail in chapter V. Discussion of the reputed cynicism of some klan leaders, who further klan goals with expectations of financial gain and personal power, is also reserved for other sections of the report.

A review of the nature of recent klan activities leads to the inescapable conclusion that "maintaining white supremacy" includes preventing this Nation's Negro minority from fully exercising constitutional rights and privileges, and arousing fears and hatreds among persons of all races in order to gain support for the klan philosophy that the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights were written "for whites only."

As long as klans cling to their white supremacist goal, no credence can be given to frequent assertions by klan leaders that the organizations are not "anti-Negro."²

Nor can any faith be placed in the commonly made klan claim that the organizations are not "anti-Jew," "anti-Catholic," and "anti-foreign born." The committee received relatively few reports of overt klan actions solely aimed against any one of these minorities in recent years. However, today as in the past, klans disseminate defamatory propaganda at rallies and from their printing presses in an apparent attempt to create animosity toward and social ostracism of Jews, Catholics, and aliens in the United States.

A number of professed objectives of presently operating klans are repetitions of statements adopted by the post-Civil War organization. Such are the klan pledges to (1) protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenseless from "the lawless"; (2) succor the suffering and un-

¹ This language appears in the constitution of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Official documents of both the United Klans and National Knights also list the "maintenance of white supremacy" as their purpose. The White Knights describe their aim as "strict segregation of the races, and the control of the social structure in the hands of the Christian, Anglo-Saxon white men."

² A leaflet distributed by the United Klans stated the organization was "not anti-Negro" and in fact was "the Negro's friend." The leaflet, titled "The Principle of the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," is reproduced in the appendix, pp. 360-371.

fortunate; (3) protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and all laws passed in conformity thereto; (4) assist in the execution of all constitutional laws; and (5) protect States rights.

Nothing in the record of recent klan activity indicates any serious effort in behalf of such objectives. As a matter of fact, many incidents will be recited in this report which demonstrate that lawless klansmen have preyed upon the weak, innocent, and defenseless. These klansmen have repeatedly come into conflict with local criminal laws, in addition to doing violence to the Constitution by striving to deprive others of rights guaranteed by that document.

Such lawless conduct is encouraged by the klans' assumption of power to decide what laws and what law enforcement officers should be obeyed. Most major klans have pledged support only to a constitution "as written by our forefathers" or "as originally written" and today "twisted" or "ripped to shreds" by evil men.³ Klansmen are instructed to obey only "constitutional" laws. Since the Federal Government is represented as a captive of Communists, klansmen are given no encouragement to respect Federal laws. White Knights documents, referred to in more detail in chapter VI, show that klansmen are furthermore instructed not to submit to the authority of local elected officials and police officers if they impede the advancement of klan goals.

Modern klans vociferously proclaim themselves to be effective opponents of communism. The United Klans of America is pledged to "fight to the last breath" to rid the country of the "insidious plague" of communism. The White Knights vow they are working for the "total destruction of communism." The National Knights promise to "save" the Nation from Communist conquest, while the Original Knights recruit on the basis of their "effective program" against communism. Evidence accumulated by the committee indicates that the vaunted "anticommunism" of klans is a deception. The klans, in fact, are a source of distorted and false information regarding the Communist movement and klans thereby actually impede sincere programs aimed at increasing public understanding of this imported conspiracy. It is obvious that klans are cynically exploiting public antipathy to communism in order to advance their white supremacist objectives.

In addition to its anti-Communist mission, the White Knights have taken on the immense responsibility of "preserving Christian civilization." An examination of secret White Knights documents reveals this is nothing more than a klan effort to "morally" justify its positions on racial issues.

Many other aims professed by klan organizations should be classified as imaginary in the absence of any demonstrated klan effort to achieve them. Such are avowals to promote and practice "patriotism," protect womanhood, promote "justice," preserve public peace or domestic tranquility, follow and promote the teachings of Christianity; and preserve freedom of speech and a free press.

A number of minor objectives, promoted in printed literature distributed by the klans, include campaigns for a limitation on foreign immigration, expulsion and/or disenfranchisement of millions of

³ Positions publicly stated by the United Klans, White Knights, and Original Knights, for example.

aliens, repeal of the Federal Reserve Act, and withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations.

Public klan propaganda has little to say about any "fraternal" benefits of klan membership. Although existing klans lay claim to the ritualism devised by Imperial Wizard Simmons shortly after World War I, they have made no attempt to emulate Simmons' recruitment pitch emphasizing the mystery and fraternity to be found in the klan. In this respect, klan organizations today are more akin to their activist brethren of the post-Civil War period.

CHAPTER V. PUBLIC KLAN ACTIVITY

THE COW PASTURE RALLY

A klan rally is many things. To the curious, it serves as a bizarre form of entertainment. To the klan leaders, it is a vehicle for attracting potential members and hard cash.

Typically, the rally is staged in a farmer's field on the outskirts of a city or town. The main props consist of a 15- to 50-foot-high burning cross and a crude wooden speakers' platform (for which a truck bed is often substituted). Klan security guards, in uniforms reminiscent of storm troopers, are positioned strategically in the milling crowd. Gospel songs, such as *The Old Rugged Cross*, emanate from an amplifier to which a record player is connected. On the platform are a microphone and klan leaders featured as speakers. The gold, green, or red of their hoods and robes designate their official status within their respective klan organizations.

Raffle tickets may be on sale, affording spectators a chance to win a television set or a \$100 carbine. Depending upon the issues of the moment and the geographical area, the rally will draw several hundred spectators—or several thousand.

During the rally, contributions will be collected, the disposition of which will be surrounded by an aura of mystery. The speakers will seize the opportunity to vent personal hatreds and prejudices disguised in terms of patriotism and other "noble causes." Some remarks border on the incendiary and appear to be a calculated effort to arouse fears and hatreds in the audience—emotions which sometimes find a lawless outlet.

Speech-making functions are usually assigned to a kludd (chaplain) who pronounces an invocation and benediction, a local klan official, and one or more visiting klan dignitaries holding state or national klan office.

Advanced publicity about the lighting of a cross, at the beginning or end of the program, is a gimmick to attract the outsider. The drama inherent in robed figures marching with torches around an illuminated cross has been effectively exploited by klans from the time Simmons introduced his organization in 1915. The klans insist, however, that the cross is a reminder to klansmen to follow Christ's teachings, and the addition of fire simply signifies that "Christ is the light of the world."¹

A cross-burning may be omitted occasionally, but the committee found no evidence of any klan rally without the ceremony of passing the hat or bucket.² At this point in the program, the old "shill game" is sometimes utilized. According to the testimony of "the Reverend" Roy Woodle, ex-grand kludd of the United Klans in North Carolina,

¹ A photograph of flaming crosses at a klan rally appears on p. 79 of this report.

² The intake of greenbacks as a result of a public klan rally is illustrated in the photograph appearing on p. 80 of this report.



Crosses blaze at cow pasture rally staged by United Klans of America near Salisbury, N.C., on Aug. 8, 1964. The three klan officials standing together are James Robertson Jones, North Carolina grand dragon; Fred L. Wilson, treasurer of the UKA organization in North Carolina; and Robert Scoggin, South Carolina grand dragon [Fred Wilson Exhibit No. 7—Oct. 25, 1965].

klan members in civilian garb are given sizable sums of cash before the rally begins and are directed to mingle with the audience. In order to stimulate donations from the crowd, these selected klansmen ostentatiously deposit money in the collection hats or buckets. The same formula has been employed when application blanks for klan membership are distributed among the audience. Predetermined members of the klan loudly request membership applications in the hope that their action will encourage others in the audience to follow suit. The strategy also helps give substance to klan claims of an "enormous gain" in membership as a result of a rally.

Woodle, a bricklayer and self-styled preacher who had considerable experience as a guest orator at rallies of the United Klans of America, offered the committee the following impression of such gatherings:

In my honest opinion, the way I see it, [the klan officials] come into town this month, have a rally, get all the money you can get, and get out, and say, "Now, you folks work hard, get all the members you can. We will be back next year for another rally."

And then on other occasions, I saw poor men out on the side, can't hardly pay their bills, supporting it, and [the officials] promising you, "We are going to give you the victory. We are going to stand. We are going to stand," but ain't nobody found out what they are going to stand for.



George Dorsett, imperial kludd (national chaplain) of the United Klans of America, takes in the cash after a collection speech at a public rally held by the UKA at Landis, N.C., on Aug. 21, 1965 [George Dorsett Exhibit No. 9—Oct. 27, 1965].

"What they stand for"—according to Robert Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the United Klans—is a "return" of the Government "into the hands of the people instead of a mob bureaucracy of sex perverts and Communist atheists that we have leading our government in America today." Shelton's statement, made at a Bear, Del., rally on July 31, 1965, is typical of efforts by klan speakers to portray themselves as last-ditch patriots, warring against communism and immorality. His

remarks also illustrate the klans' habit of misrepresenting actual Communist problems by over-exaggeration, distortion and outright falsification. As klan oratory continues, however, it becomes obvious that the klan's vaunted anti-communism is a pretext for venomous attacks on minority groups. This is demonstrated in the speech made by Robert Shelton at a United Klans rally in North Carolina on October 28, 1961:

* * * We are one klan in our unchangeable determination that these United States will be saved from destruction under this foul combination of Negro-Jewish communism. * * * Yes, our mortal enemy as of old is the jungle descendant of the Negro, but today he has banded together with the non-white, money-drunk, anti-Christian Jew who has influenced him, financed him, propagandized him, defended him falsely in our courts and enslaved him into his Jewish-owned and controlled NAACP. It operates at the direction of the American Jewish Communists. * * * The so-called American Jew has made a greater slave of the Negro than he ever was in the year 1860.

* * * Both political parties are bought lock, stock and barrel by this same manipulator. The evil scheme of the manipulator to overthrow the American government cannot be denied by any just man. Therefore they are traitors and they are not American. Their supreme loyalty, by their own admission, is to one world "jew-ery" with the gentile white man branded as their slaves.

CONTRADICTORY STANCES ON VIOLENCE

The bulk of klan rallies staged in recent years has been under the aegis of the United Klans of America or the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. Leaders of both organizations have told rally audiences that the klan is dedicated to legal methods and opposed to violence.

A closer examination of klan leaders' public statements and activities leads to the conclusion that disavowals of terrorism are beamed at law enforcement authorities rather than klansmen. The leaders have failed to demonstrate that the klans as presently operated have more respect for the law than their predecessor organizations.

The committee observed that klan leaders habitually leave the door open to violence by vague qualifications in their public disavowals of violent intent. They also customarily refer to laws as being imposed by an enemy minority in control of the Federal Government in violation of the American Constitution "as originally written." When emotion-packed oratory against minority groups is added, the net effect is an encouragement of lawlessness.

An illustration is provided by Imperial Wizard Shelton's performance at the rally in October 1961, previously referred to. The wizard portrayed the United Klans as a "new, modern jet-age klan" with "ideals" which "have not changed one bit since 1867." The scalawags of today, Shelton said, are the "alien thieves and traitors" who control the United States Government. He identified them as a Communist-directed combination of Negroes and Jews. The klan disrespect for laws enacted under such a government was indicated by Shelton's next statement:

The sword of justice in all klan meetings means justice under constitutional law as written by our forefathers and now * * * twisted by evil men who plot our country's downfall and whose sole purpose is monetary and political gain.

With respect to klan aims, Shelton said that the klan "does hereby make an open declaration of war against the evils of Negroism and

Jewism and the Jewish Communists." The klan is "going to take back this country from alien thieves and traitors." His militant tone was muted for a moment by the traditional disavowal of unlawful intent: "It is a legal war, a peaceful war, a constitutional war. A war of ballots, not bullets."

Before his oration had been completed, however, the imperial wizard managed to blur a pacific image of the klan. "Our weapons are ballots not bullets, but we will defend ourselves, our homes, our loved ones," he declaimed. "We will never night ride again, UNLESS we are forced to defend our homes."

Printed words cannot adequately describe the effect of such remarks at a klan rally, where racial slurs by a rabble-rousing orator have been sufficient to evoke an audience response of "Kill the Niggers!"³

Shelton had been installed in the office of imperial wizard slightly more than 3 months before he spoke at the aforementioned North Carolina rally. His activities prior to the rally were not conducive to a non-violent klan image.

During the previous August, Shelton had been in Montgomery, Ala., openly lobbying against a proposed state law which would make flogging by nightriders a capital offense. The wizard maintained in press interviews that klansmen themselves had "long since abandoned floggings in any form" but he saw a possible need for men to "avenge a crime" where victims were too fearful of publicity to become involved in a prosecution. Describing himself as a great believer in law and order, he nevertheless declared that he was "glad that there are still men somewhere who will take matters in their own hands when the hands of the law are tied."

Immediately prior to his assumption of leadership of the United Klans in 1961, Shelton had received considerable notoriety for his involvement in violence against civil rights advocates who were testing bus desegregation in the South. Shelton, who then headed the Alabama Knights, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.,⁴ was charged by the Government with engaging in a conspiracy with others which resulted in the beating and assaulting of the so-called Freedom Riders at bus terminals in Birmingham, Ala., on May 14 and Montgomery, Ala., on May 20, 1961. A federal judge issued a temporary restraining order against Shelton and others on May 20, and followed it up on June 2 with a preliminary injunction forbidding interference with interstate bus travel.⁵

Shelton issued a press statement attacking the May 20 restraining order as an attempt to prevent Alabama klans "from aiding in the preservation of our laws and customs." He also blamed the restraining order for propelling him into an all-night discussion on May 20 with officials of the United Klans, at which arrangements were made to merge the Alabama Knights into the UKA.

³ Shouts heard from the crowd which gathered at a United Klans rally near Hemingway, S.C., April 3, 1965, to hear Imperial Wizard Shelton and other klan speakers.

⁴ The title used in the klan's application for a charter from the secretary of state of Alabama in May 1960. The klan was commonly known, however, as the Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

⁵ At a court hearing prior to the issuance of the preliminary injunction, Shelton denied participation in a conspiracy; he also claimed he could not identify members of his klan organization because he kept no records. Enjoined on June 2 in addition to Shelton and members of the Alabama Knights were the officers and members of the Alabama organization of the U.S. Klans.

As noted elsewhere in this report, the merger was officially consummated at a meeting July 8, 1961, which also bestowed on Shelton the title of Imperial Wizard of the United Klans. Committee investigations show that Shelton had been quietly seeking to organize various dissident klan groups under his command ever since the death of Imperial Wizard Edwards in 1960. His efforts were so successful that he could demand the top post when he joined the United Klans in July. Shelton's actual entrance into the United Klans became a gesture of defiance against federal action to restrain serious outbreaks of violence involving klansmen. His reign therefore has encouraged lawlessness from the outset.

The ambivalence of United Klans officials in their public stance with respect to violence has continued to the present day. Shelton had announced in May of 1963 that any Federal attempt to enforce integration at the University of Alabama could "touch off the bloodiest rioting ever seen in the United States." The klan would "match the violence" of any Federal troops or marshals swinging gun butts or using tear gas, he said, and furthermore if Tuscaloosa officials failed to enforce the local law, "the Klan will enforce it."

That same month, Calvin Craig, grand dragon of the United Klans Georgia Realm, asserted at a rally near Birmingham, Ala., that the klan was going to meet force with force if Martin Luther King returned to the State of Georgia. Craig, who boasts that he has always preached non-violence, predicted at another rally near Durham, N.C., in March 1964 that "more blood would be shed in America" before the next Presidential inauguration "than in the past 10 years." The violence would allegedly be instigated by white persons if the civil rights bill of 1964 were enacted and by Negroes if the bill failed to pass. He hammered on the same theme at a Covington, Ga., klan rally in June of 1964.

In August of 1965, Craig's harangue to a crowd assembled on the courthouse steps in Atlanta included the assertion that the civil rights movement had gone as far as it could go "without outright warfare between Negroes and the white man." Imperial Wizard Shelton meanwhile sounded his "ballots not bullets" theme at a Meridian, Miss., rally July 10, 1965, which he promptly vitiated by adding: "And if this fails, then as a last resort, do what you have to do. I do not advocate violence, but if you have to resort to it after all else fails, then use it."

During the last week in August of 1965, Negro civil rights demonstrations in Plymouth, N.C., culminated in a series of violent street clashes between whites and Negroes with injuries to members of both races. The United Klans grand dragon for North Carolina, James Robertson Jones, informed the press after a conference with the Governor of North Carolina on September 2 that he and the Governor were in agreement on "deploring violence." Jones announced that members of his klan were not involved in the violence in Plymouth. There were no klansmen in Plymouth who had been ordered into the city, the grand dragon stated. He said he had issued an order the previous week forbidding non-resident klansmen to enter the area. Two white men, injured in street fighting on August 31, were not klansmen, Jones also told newsmen.

This committee on January 28, 1966, received public testimony from George Leonard Williams, one of the two aforementioned individuals

wounded in Plymouth on August 31, 1965. Williams testified that when he was sent to the hospital with a gun shot wound, he was a member of the United Klans klavern at Greenville, N.C. He was in Plymouth at the orders of klavern officials who declared klansmen were journeying there in order "to stop the colored [demonstrators] one way or another." Williams described the rallying at Plymouth of nearly 1000 United Klansmen, most of them non-residents and many armed. He said he had no knowledge of any order by Grand Dragon Jones warning klansmen away from Plymouth. In his own first personal conversation with Jones, after the Plymouth violence, Williams said Jones was chiefly concerned about the possibility that the Committee on Un-American Activities might subpoena Williams in connection with its current klan investigation. Williams subsequently resigned from the United Klans in November 1965. His testimony before the committee demonstrated that the grand dragon's fears were well founded.

The following chapter will demonstrate the private commitment of both the White Knights and the Original Knights to programs of physical violence. Even the public statements of these klans are too contradictory to constitute clear-cut rejections of physical force. Eschewing such media as the cow pasture rally and the press interview, the White Knights and Original Knights publicize their positions through the cheap, crudely printed literature which they also circulate in connection with campaigns of character assassination.

The White Knights official publication, *The Klan Ledger*, managed to be on both sides of the question of violence in a "pre-4th of July" edition in 1964:

The White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of the Sovereign Realm of Mississippi is a Christian organization. We do not believe in, nor do we commit acts of unlawful violence. We employ physical force only in defence (sic) of our Christian civilization; and even then, without malice or vengeance.

The same tack was taken by the White Knights grand dragon in *The Klan Ledger* dated July 1965:

First, let me say that most of what the Klan is blamed for is not the work of the Klan. We are a convenient whipping boy rather than actual, malicious offenders. Occasionally, some of our more spirited good Christian Brothers may become so enraged over the work of the revolutionary atheists in our midst, that they are goaded into taking retaliatory action against them; but no honest or serious person blames anyone but the atheists themselves for this. * * *

A handbill, circulated in 1964 with the imprint "Original Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana," announced that the Original Knights "does not advocate violence unless it becomes necessary for the preservation of our Democracy, and for the defense of this country against the tides of communists." Another handbill distributed in 1965 with the same imprint flatly asserted that it is "not true" that the Original Knights is a "violent organization." However, the same klan was also circulating a leaflet titled, *History of the Klan*, which discussed mass killings of Negroes by klansmen in the State of Louisiana in the year 1873, as well as "only small things * * * such as whippings, tar and feathers, and hangings." Observing that "the killing of negroes ceased as they quit voting with the Radicals," the leaflet warned:

Our Radicals are now called Liberals and they have the same line that they had in 1860 and it looks like the white protestant and gentile will have to do the same job over again in 1965.

HONORING THE LAWBREAKER

The United Klans during 1965 adopted the practice of paying tribute at its rallies to klansmen who were being prosecuted in connection with the murder of civil rights advocates.

Speakers at the aforementioned Meridian rally on July 10, 1965, included Sheriff Lawrence Rainey of Neshoba County, Miss., then under Federal indictment for conspiracy in connection with the slaying of three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Miss., the previous summer. Thunderous applause greeted the defendant as he joined United Klans officers on the speakers' platform. At another United Klans rally at Greenville, Miss., July 22, the grand dragon for Mississippi introduced Rainey to the crowd as "a great American." On this occasion, Rainey was seated on the speakers' platform with Shelton and other klan officials but did not join in the speech-making. Seven days later, Rainey appeared as a guest of honor at a rally in Montgomery, Ala., which was addressed by the United Klans grand dragon for that State. On October 25, the United Klans staged a rally near Philadelphia, Miss., the actual scene of the brutal kidnap and murder of civil rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner which led to the indictment of Rainey and 17 other defendants. The audience cheered as Sheriff Rainey and his deputy and co-defendant, Cecil Price, were introduced as "great patriots of today." The principal speaker, the grand dragon for Mississippi, was assisted by a master of ceremonies in klan robes who had also been indicted in connection with the Philadelphia murders.

The three defendants in the Viola Liuzzo murder case were honored guests at a series of United Klan rallies in Alabama and North Carolina in May, 1965. The three—Collie Leroy Wilkins, Eugene Thomas and William O. Eaton—were then under indictment on State charges of murder and Federal charges of conspiring to violate civil rights, as a result of the nightrider slaying of Mrs. Liuzzo on an Alabama highway March 25, 1965. The men had yet to be tried when United Klans officials made this display of support for klansmen who had run afoul of the law.⁶ Wilkins, Thomas, and Eaton had been identified upon their arrest as members of the United Klans.

The accused United Klansmen marched in a parade which preceded a rally in Anniston, Ala., on May 9, 1965. As the parade led by Imperial Wizard Shelton and the Alabama grand dragon reached city hall, the defendants received a standing ovation from a crowd which had gathered to hear the klan speakers. Cheers also greeted Wilkins, Thomas and Eaton when they were introduced at United Klans rallies at Dunn, N.C., on May 16 and Sanford, N.C., on May 17, 1965. Wilkins and Eaton were observed participating in another United Klans parade in Atlanta, Ga., on June 6, 1965.

Imperial Wizard Shelton, with considerable fanfare, had contributed two \$1000 checks as rewards payable upon the arrest and conviction of persons responsible for a series of bombings which occurred in Birmingham, Ala., in December 1963 and in Charlotte, N.C., in November 1965.

⁶ The first trial of Wilkins on murder charges ended in a deadlocked jury on May 7, 1965, and another trial had been scheduled for October 1965. See pp. 120-122 for details of this murder case and the resulting prosecution of Wilkins, Thomas, and Eaton. In March of 1966, William Eaton suffered a fatal heart attack.

Shelton ran no risks in this grandstand play because the conditions placed upon cashing of the checks voided their negotiability. In view of the United Klans practice of honoring those accused of violence and defaming its victims, the klan cannot so easily erase its equally public actions justifying and encouraging lawless acts.

James R. Venable, the attorney who serves as imperial wizard of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., recently adopted a public position which would appear to discourage violence.

His speeches at klan rallies in the spring and summer of 1965 informed audiences that his organization opposed any physical violence. In testimony before this committee, he added that incidents of violence attributed to members of the rival United Klans had "embarrassed" other klans. The far from pacific, covert activities of various members of the National Knights are discussed in another section of this report. The committee here observes that the National Knights leader has not always been a public advocate of law and order.

A klansman since 1924, Venable had served as national legal advisor to both the U.S. Klans and the United Klans before incorporating his own National Knights in 1963. Venable's proposed alternative to school integration—in a speech at a U.S. Klans-sponsored gathering in Atlanta Nov. 30, 1960—met with considerable publicity. "Let's close them [the schools] up," Venable declared. "Let's burn them up if it comes to that."

Those assembled for a National Knights rally at Stone Mountain, Ga., September 5, 1964, were told by their imperial wizard that the klan does not preach use of violence except in "self defense." Venable also made reference to two members of the United Klans who had been acquitted the preceding day of State murder charges in the Lemuel Penn case. "You'll never be able to convict a white man that killed a nigger what encroaches on the white race of the south," Venable proclaimed. His words were not in keeping with his later testimony to this committee that klansmen involved in murder are a "disgrace" and "ought to be prosecuted," nor with his press statement approving the conviction in December 1965 of United Klansmen involved in the Liuzzo murder case.

Venable's rally oratory includes the customary klan slander against minority groups. Along with his recent public admonitions against violations of the law, Venable likes to represent the National Knights as a last great bulwark for saving the nation from minority control. His harangues may become emotional. "We are willing to shed blood before we will be dominated!" he announced at a rally near Lebanon, Ohio, on November 6, 1965.

RALLIES WITH A VIOLENT AFTERMATH

Klan protestations of non-violent intent become even more suspect when some of the effects of the rabble-rousing klan rally are examined.

A United Klans rally, held in Atlanta September 4, 1961, to protest recent desegregation of the city schools, was interrupted by a "near-riot" directed in this instance at policemen assigned to preserve order at the rally site. The klan leaders had pitched their appeal to the lawless from the outset of the rally. A guest speaker was a teenager who had been arrested the preceding week for failing to obey police officers

attempting to insure an orderly opening of a desegregated school. Another speaker, James R. Venable—then national legal advisor to the United Klans—criticized the arrest as an unwarranted interference with a mere exercise of "constitutional rights". A masked klan speaker's tirade against "niggers and white trash" turned to abuse of police officers on the scene. Shortly thereafter, Roy E. Frankhouser, one of the National States Rights Party representatives participating in the rally, was arrested on charges of assaulting a police officer. A mob of nearly 100 angry men then began charging toward the officers of the law, some shouting "Let's stomp that cop." Police reinforcements finally restored order.⁷

The beating of a Negro dentist and three companions climaxed a rally of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan on September 18, 1963. Victims were observers at the public klan cross-burning and speech-fest held just off U.S. Highway 1 on the outskirts of St. Augustine, Fla. The beating was administered at the speakers' platform before a crowd of men and women shouting such words of encouragement as "Kill 'em" and "String 'em up!"

Earlier, Eunice "Gene" Fallaw, an officer of the UFKKK, introduced the theme of the rally with his invocation to the Lord to "Help us to be ready to fight, to shed blood if necessary, to maintain our way of life."

Speaker of the evening was Charles Conley "Connie" Lynch, who was introduced as a minister of the gospel for more than 35 years. Lynch began his speech with references to the "glorious history of the klan" and closed it with this appeal for new members in the existing klan unit in St. Augustine:

We need a good strong group in St. Augustine. You come and sign up. But don't come if you are weak or a coward. This ain't no peaceful organization. We aim to do whatever is necessary to put the Nigger back in his place, preferably in his grave.

Lynch's harangue, lasting more than an hour, was couched in almost incredibly bloodthirsty language. As reported to the committee by an eyewitness, Lynch applauded the bombing of a Birmingham, Ala., church in September 1963 which took the lives of four young Negro girls. After informing the audience that he had told the FBI he didn't know the bomber and wouldn't tell "if I did," he had gone on to say:

But I'll tell you people here tonight, if they can find those fellows, they ought to pin a medal on them. Someone said, "Ain't it a shame that them little children was killed." Well, they don't know what they are talking about. In the first place they ain't little. They're 14 or 15 years old * * *. In the second place, they weren't children. Children are little people, little human beings, and that means white people. * * * But they ain't children. They're just little Niggers. And in the third place, it wasn't no shame they was killed.

Why? Because when I go out to kill rattlesnakes, I don't make no difference between little rattlesnakes and big rattlesnakes, because I know it is the nature of all rattlesnakes to be my enemies and to poison me if they can. So I kill 'em all, and if there's four less niggers tonight, then, I say, "Good for whoever planted the bomb." We're all better off.

⁷ The charges against Frankhouser, then national organizer of the NSRP, were later dropped. The teenage speaker, who was arrested, convicted and sent to a prison farm for disorderly conduct (disturbing a public school), became public relations director for the NSRP the following year.

At a second, more orderly United Klans rally in Atlanta on Sept. 9, 1961, James Venable talked of public school desegregation in the city in these terms: "It hasn't been a peaceful integration. It never will be a peaceful integration."

The so-called minister of the gospel boasted of his own personal belief in violence and told his listeners they would be carrying out God's will to adopt a similar attitude:

I believe in violence, all the violence it takes whether to scare the Niggers out of the country or to have 'em all six feet under.

* * * * *
In spite of what those numb-skull idiots on the Supreme Court say, they ain't got no right to mix with you and don't you let 'em. If you have to fight and shed blood, theirs or yours, do it! * * * The Niggers started the war, and when you start a war, you expect some to die. More will die, and you'd better be ready to see to it that they do. I'm speaking for God, and you'd better listen.

Shouts of approval and rebel yells greeted Lynch's tirade. The obvious boredom with which the crowd reacted to a less fiery speaker following Lynch was ended by the discovery of four Negroes in a wooded area near the rally site. Prodded by guns and knives, the four were brought before the audience and beaten to the point that three required hospitalization. Ironically, one of the victims—a Negro dentist and civil rights advocate—was on a deathlist suggested by Lynch. Moments earlier, Lynch had declared:

You've got a Nigger in St. Augustine ought not to live—that burr-headed ——— of a dentist. He's got no right to live at all, let alone walk up and down your streets and breathe the white man's free air. He ought to wake up tomorrow morning with a bullet between his eyes. If you were half the men you claim to be, you'd kill him before sunup.

Law enforcement officers, who were summoned by an observer and rescued the victims, arrested individuals on the scene who did not actually participate in the beatings, according to information received by the committee. Those who allegedly did play a role in the beatings were Lynch and Fallaw, assisted by Robert Sylvester Arant, Joseph H. Bedford and Albert T. Massey. Fallaw and Arant were among past and present officers of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan called as witnesses in the committee's public hearings in February 1966. Both witnesses invoked the fifth amendment in response to questions regarding their klan activity and their part in the violence attending the aforementioned St. Augustine rally.

Fallaw has not been active in the klan since early 1964. Arant, however, was serving as exalted cyclops of the Palatka Klavern of the UFKKK at the time of the committee's klan investigation in 1965. In the spring of 1965, Bedford and Massey, both residents of Jacksonville, were appointed to the posts of grand klaliff and grand klokard, respectively, in the Florida organization of the rival United Klans of America. Bedford also held the national office of imperial klexter (inner guard) of the UKA in 1965. In October of the same year, both men pulled out of the UKA and helped found another organization known as the United Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

CONNIE LYNCH

Self-ordained minister Connie Lynch^a has been recruiting and speechmaking for klan organizations and the National States Rights Party for a number of years. Although his permanent address is San Bernardino, Calif., Lynch is a perpetual traveler and his appearance

^a The committee was unable to serve an outstanding subpoena calling for Lynch's appearance at public hearings.

in many a community in the Southeastern United States has been a signal for an increase in racial tensions, if not outright violence.

In the autumn of 1962, Lynch held membership in Jacksonville Klavern 502 of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan, according to this committee's investigations. Differences in klan affiliation did not bar Lynch from speaking engagements in behalf of the United Klans of America. He was a cospeaker with Imperial Wizard Shelton, for example, at a UKA rally near Bessemer, Ala., on October 13, 1962. Lynch was back in California in the early months of 1963, organizing for the National States Rights Party. The summer and fall of 1963 found him once again in Florida, speaking at a series of rallies which for the most part aimed at building up membership of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan. He also turned up in Spartanburg, S.C., on August 17, 1963, to speak with Shelton at a rally of the United Klans of America.

Inflammatory speeches by Lynch and J. B. Stoner in St. Augustine, Fla., in June of 1964 drew the condemnation of a State legislative investigating committee. That committee attributed to the National States Rights Party, which the two men represented, a "key role" in exacerbating racial tension and violence which had plagued the area. In the winter of 1965, Lynch was reported once again active in behalf of the NSRP in California. During the second week of July 1965, however, Lynch and Stoner were in Bogalusa, La., intensifying tensions over civil rights demonstrations by exhorting white persons to get into the streets and to arm themselves.

Such tactics reached a tragic climax on July 15, 1965, in Anniston, Ala., where a Negro was murdered a few hours after Lynch and Stoner conducted a National States Rights Party rally at the Anniston courthouse. Hubert D. Strange, later convicted of the ambush slaying, was identified as having attended the rally, at which Lynch had declared: "If it takes killing to get the Negroes out of the white man's streets and to protect our constitutional rights, I say, 'Yes, kill them!'"

Lynch returned to Anniston for another rally on September 1, 1965, at which similar incendiary remarks were uttered and the guest of honor was the man whom a jury would soon convict of second-degree murder (Strange). At the end of the year, according to information received by this committee, Lynch showed up for some of the meetings of the Jacksonville klavern of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan. The early months of 1966 saw him once more on the West Coast, touring the northwestern states in behalf of the NSRP. He appeared in the East again for a series of NSRP rallies in Baltimore, Md., in July 1966, which were brought to a halt by a court injunction after youths attending the rallies engaged in altercations with Negroes. As a result of these rallies, Lynch and local NSRP officers were found guilty in Baltimore Criminal Court November 18, 1966, on charges which included incitement to riot, conspiracy to riot, and disorderly conduct.

A rally of the United Klans of America which had a violent aftermath took place on the evening of June 20, 1964, north of Covington, Ga. Committee investigations established that the rally was attended by Herbert Guest and a number of other United Klansmen from the Athens, Ga., area. In the early hours of the morning following the

rally, cars owned by United Klansmen of Athens made two forays through a Negro housing project in Athens, firing shotguns loaded with buckshot. On the second invasion, a teenage boy and girl were struck in the face by shotgun pellets. The boy was blinded in one eye. Athens klansmen Herbert Guest and Paul Strickland were subsequently convicted and fined for discharging firearms within the city. Strickland and Denver W. Phillips, who was also identified as a member of the klan's nightriding caravan, have yet to be tried on more serious charges of assault with intent to murder.⁹

KLAN "WALKS," MOTORCADES AND PICKETING

In addition to rallies, a number of klans engage in robed "walks" and picketing. These particular activities provide publicity and also bolster klan claims that it has a program of action to further its purposes. Walks and picketing vary as to details. Nevertheless, they have a common theme—defense of white supremacy.

During 1965, robed klansmen from the United Florida Ku Klux Klan "walked" through a central Florida town, while others from the United Klans of America paraded en masse through cities in North



The United Klans of America sponsored a "walk" through Salisbury, N.C., on Aug. 21, 1965. Individuals wearing military-type helmets are members of the klan's "security guard."

⁹ Guest and Phillips were later indicted in connection with the murder less than a month later of Negro educator Lemuel Penn. See p. 120.

Carolina and Georgia.¹⁰ Although klan leaders represent such walks as peaceful, legitimate activity, they have led to increased racial tensions, particularly when they have been timed to coincide with civil rights demonstrations in the same area.¹¹

In some communities, klan walks or motorcades are primarily staged for the purpose of intimidation. During the walks, robed klansmen often enter a town from opposite directions and walk toward each other in pairs. Speaking only when spoken to, the costumed figures are a silent and threatening reminder of the klan's presence in the community.

In a bygone era, bands of robed horses and riders raced with blazing torches through the dark streets of small Southern towns and villages. Doors were shut and blinds drawn against the frightening sound of racing hoofs over bricked streets. Walks and motorcades represent the modern klans' effort to revive the climate of the period when "the klan rides again" was a common occurrence.

Picketing by klansmen, especially when conducted as a counter-demonstration to the activities of civil rights advocates, has culminated on a number of occasions in incidents of violence. Illustrations are provided by United Klans Realm of Georgia.

Close to 100 officers and members of the United Klans on January 18, 1964, picketed downtown Atlanta hotels, restaurants and department stores which had desegregated eating facilities. Although the majority wore their klan robes, the pickets were accompanied by a number of unrobed klansmen who distributed handbills appealing to the public to boycott listed integrated establishments. A jeering confrontation of klansmen and Negroes later that day was broken up by police before any outright clash could occur.

Less than a week later, however, Grand Dragon Craig returned with his klansmen to picket in downtown Atlanta and eventually gravitated to a street corner where a Negro civil rights demonstration was in progress. Craig was observed to step into the street and urge white persons to help the klansmen break up the Negro demonstration. Police reinforcements sought to restrict the confrontation to a verbal battle. When Grand Dragon Craig nevertheless insisted upon leading his klansmen in a march between the rows of Negro demonstrators, the confrontation degenerated into a fist fight. Shortly thereafter, the Georgia Realm of the United Klans distributed printed leaflets picturing klan counterpicketing of civil rights demonstrations in Atlanta. The photos in the klan propaganda showed Negro demonstrators lying on the street.

The Varsity Drive-In Restaurant in Athens, Ga., was picketed in March and May of 1964 by local members of the United Klans to protest the employment of Negroes at the restaurant. On both occasions, fighting broke out between klansmen and Negroes, which led to the arrest of local klavern officers.

¹⁰ A photograph of a "walk" sponsored by the United Klans of America through Salisbury, N.C., in the summer of 1965 appears on p. 90 of this report.

¹¹ United Klan Grand Dragon Calvin Craig told the press on October 4, 1965, that, if the Governor did not end demonstrations in Crawfordville, Ga., aimed at school desegregation, the klan would hold "demonstrations and rallies" to "build up tensions so the laws will be put into effect as we did in Americus and we did in Albany." In Americus, Ga., in August 1965, more than 500 klansmen had marched to the courthouse prior to a scheduled civil rights march on the same route.

THE BOYCOTT

"Our weapons are the boycott and the ballot," Imperial Wizard James Venable declared at a National Knights rally at Stone Mountain, Ga., in September 1964. That the boycott was also one of the avowed weapons of the rival United Klans of America was evident from Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton's speech at a rally near Birmingham, Ala., in May 1963. The theme of his lengthy oration was the need for a klan-sponsored boycott of Birmingham merchants who had contributed money to civil rights organizations or made any concessions to Negro trade.

The Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana had a special Boycott Committee, composed of one representative from each klavern, to carry out proclaimed klan policy of boycotting merchants using Negro employees to serve or wait upon white persons, and other itemized "violations" of "the Southern traditions." In neighboring Mississippi, the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan distributed mimeographed throw-aways announcing a klan boycott of national chain stores which had agreed to hire Negro cashiers. The White Knights literature added the warning that "the eyes of the klan will be watching" white persons who insisted on trading with any of the proscribed business establishments. The United Klans in Mississippi boycotted a carry-out hamburger chain merely because it sold to Negroes.

Klan boycotts—however serious and malevolent the intent—are sometimes rather ludicrous. During 1962, for example, veteran Georgia klansman James Venable financed the printing and circulation of a mammoth list of more than a thousand food and cleaning products which carry kosher markings to indicate nothing in the processing of the products violated Jewish dietary laws. An accompanying letter¹² signed by Venable and addressed to "Mr. and Mrs. Christian American" called for a boycott of the listed products and charged that the kosher markings meant Jewish inspectors must be employed by a manufacturer, who passes the cost on to the consumer. If any consumer had taken Venable's boycott proposal seriously, he would have found himself sharply limited in his choice of foods.

A similar boycott was called for in "educational" leaflets distributed in Louisiana in 1965 by the Original Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc. Several manufacturing companies, responding to inquiries arising from this irrational propaganda, reported that the use of K (for kosher) on food and other products is common practice in the industry today and that rabbinical inspectors of processing procedures are sometimes paid a nominal fee which has no effect on the ultimate selling price. When questioned by this committee at public hearings February 15, 1966, James Venable was unable to produce any evidence to substantiate his contention that a kind of "tax" on food products supports a religion. Although the imperial wizard initially attempted to justify the kosher blacklist, persistent interrogation by members of the committee led him to concede that the charges against a minority group were actually "pretty harsh." Venable expressed himself

¹²In conducting this attempted boycott, Venable represented himself to the public as president of a Christian Voters and Buyers League. For further information on the league, see p. 54 of this report.

as being willing "at this time" to retract the charges and apologize for them.

Handbills distributed in the Bogalusa, La., area by the Original Knights identified a chain of gas stations, a radio station, daily newspaper, and various stores and restaurants which were subject to the klan's boycott. The gas stations, incidentally, were business competitors of one of the klan's top officers.

The coercive tactics with which the Original Knights pursued its boycott campaigns are discussed in the following section of this report dealing with klan violence. While boycotts are legal economic weapons to obtain legitimate goals, boycotts carried out by klans in most cases take the form of illegal intimidation.

SCURRILOUS LITERATURE DISTRIBUTIONS

Klan organizations have demonstrated a certain amount of expertise in scurrility. It is the trademark of all klan publicity, and it is nowhere more obvious than in the printed or mimeographed propaganda disseminated by klan organizations.

In the summer of 1965, the North Carolina Realm of the United Klans of America paid for the printing of 200,000 handbills, which were circulated by local klan units to residents of the State. The handbills—which were handed out on street corners or placed in rural mail boxes—carried the picture of a vice president of the Pepsi-Cola Company and his wife. Two brief sentences carried the klan's message: "Below Picture of Negro Vice President Of Pepsi-Cola, At Left, And His White Wife, In Center." "Let The Pepsi People Know What You Think Of Their Vice President And His White Wife."

The United Klans was actually circulating a falsehood in a campaign which Grand Dragon Jones described as "putting the truth out about Pepsi Cola." The wife of the vice president referred to in klan handbills is a Negro. Her father, who retired from the Army as a Brigadier General following World War I, was the first Negro to command a regiment in wartime.

Another falsehood circulated in United Klans leaflets as well as in the speeches of Imperial Wizard Shelton involves "sickle cell anemia." According to the Imperial Wizard, Negro blood contains sickle-shaped cells which can be fatal to white persons. "Tell anyone you know that is hiring a nigger, it is very dangerous to hire them, especially as a baby sitter," Shelton has declared. "All they have to do is to cut their finger, drop a drop of blood in the baby's food and it will be dead within a year from sickle cell anemia." Medical authorities report to the contrary that sickle cell anemia is an inherited disease found in a very small fraction of the Negro population and it cannot be transmitted either through blood transfusions or any infectious process.

Literature circulated by the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan tended to concentrate on scurrilous charges against individuals in the community whose approach to the question of desegregation was not in accord with the klans.

A three-judge Federal court in New Orleans, La., in an opinion justifying a preliminary injunction against a faction of the Original Knights, commented on handbills published in the name of the "Orig-

inal Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana." The court noted that the handbills constituted "crude" attacks on certain Bogalusa citizens advocating a moderate approach to desegregation and cited the following as an example:

* * * in one handbill an Episcopal minister is accused of lying for having said that he had received calls threatening to bomb his church; the minister's son is said to be an alcoholic, to have faced a morals charge in court, and to have been committed to a mental institution. The handbill adds:

"The Ku Klux Klan is now in the process of checking on Reverend ——'s [naming him] moral standards. If he is cleared you will be so informed. If he is not cleared, you will be informed of any and all misdeeds or moral violation of his in the past."¹³

Within the White Knights organization, such attempts at character assassination were an essential part of its so-called "propaganda work." A secret White Knights directive to its members issued on March 1, 1964, explained that: "PROPAGANDA is the weapon of modern war which our organization uses to convince the public that we are all *good*, and that those who oppose us, or criticize us, or attempt to interfere with our activities in any way are all *BAD*, and are dangerous enemies of the Community." The document stated enemies could be destroyed in any of three ways: "Socially, Economically, Physically." Klan propaganda can accomplish the first two in nearly all cases, the directive observed, adding "When propaganda is properly used, it actually disturbs the enemy more than the killing of his agitators."

USE OF THE BALLOT

The klans public position on politics has always been an ambiguous one. Grand Wizard Forrest's testimony in 1871 that the klan "has no political purpose" was not accepted by the majority of the congressional investigators who looked into the post-Civil War klan. Imperial Wizard Simmons' testimony to Congress in 1921 that the klan "is not a political organization, nor does it seek political power" was contradicted by the energetic effort of his klansmen to influence the course of local and national politics in the years immediately following his testimony. Present-day klan wizards such as Robert Shelton also proclaim that the klan is "not a political organization," yet in the same breath declare that the klan has "basically a political structure" and its goal is to create a political revolution by seizing political power in a number of States.¹⁴

Disclaimers that klans are "political organizations" may be intended to sustain the allegation in many klan charters that they are non-profit fraternal organizations with purely educational and charitable purposes. Klan leaders may also be wary of running afoul of various State laws. A North Carolina statute adopted in 1953, for example, bans secret political societies. "Political" is defined in this statute as hindering or aiding the success of any candidate for public office, or any political party or organization.

¹³ Opinion issued December 1, 1965, by U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, New Orleans Div., justifying order of December 22, 1965, for a preliminary injunction against the faction of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan using the cover name, Anti-Communist Christian Association. The klan was enjoined from interfering with the civil rights of Negro citizens in Washington Parish, La.

¹⁴ Shelton press interview August 13, 1965, and speech at klan rally near Hattiesburg, Miss., October 28, 1965.

Imperial Wizards Shelton and Venable have publicly declared their "political goal" to be the organization of a white bloc vote which will overshadow an alleged black vote. The result—election of officials who believe in white supremacy.

Information received incidentally in the course of the committee's klan investigations shows that, while United Klans speakers and literature berated both major political parties, local klan units adopted a variety of methods to promote selected political candidates from both parties. Prior to primary elections in one State in 1964, the United Klans circulated printed sample ballots with x's after klan-supported candidates for State office and for the State's delegation to a national party convention. During a klan rally in another State in 1965, United Klansmen distributed bumper stickers boosting a candidate for Congress. In Louisiana, the Original Knights in 1963, 1964, and 1966 openly supported candidates for State or congressional office.

Relatively few instances of public klan endorsement of candidates have come to the committee's attention, however, and the endorsement has not always been with the knowledge or consent of the candidate. Also noteworthy is the fact that available election results indicate that most candidates publicly sponsored by a klan were defeated. Similarly disastrous were recent attempts by a well-known klan official to attain State office. Calvin Craig, grand dragon of the United Klans Georgia Realm, unsuccessfully ran for a seat in the State Senate in 1964 and the State House of Representatives in 1965.

When an officer of a county political organization made the mistake of announcing his election to office in a United Klans klavern in the summer of 1965, his resignation from his political post was immediately demanded by other party leaders.

The more common practice of the klans, not surprisingly, has been to support political candidates without the "kiss of death" of a public klan endorsement. That covert political activity can be effective in certain localities is evident from the fact that a number of individuals who themselves held concealed klan membership occupied elected municipal and State offices at the time of the committee's investigations.

The organizational structure of the United Klans provides for a Governmental Committee within each klavern whose job is to "coordinate and apply the political influence of the Klan". The committee members are also directed to investigate and report on the "performance" of all public officers. The constitution of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan requires Political Action Committees of the klaverns to "recommend what political candidates or issues to support or oppose." Such committees are further instructed to prepare to contact elected State officials to obtain support for the klan's policies and to "learn and report the person or persons most able to influence them on such matters."

CHAPTER VI. KLAN AS PURVEYORS OF VIOLENCE

Intimidation is a klan's way of life. Without it, the klans would cease to exist.

An act of intimidation by a member of a ku klux klan may take many forms. It may involve the burning of a cross. It may mean murder. Whatever the form, such acts of intimidation are intended to force citizens—through fear—to conform with a pattern of behaviour approved by the klan.

Whether or not intimidation takes on violent forms often appears to depend on the degree to which the klan's objectives are threatened. For example, a cross has been burned as a warning against the proposed integration of a school, while in Jacksonville, Fla., the home of a student who in fact integrated a school was bombed. Whereas crosses were burned to warn against further activities promoting civil rights, persons and property were the objects of bomb or arson attacks when civil rights actions showed practical results in North Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi.

While murder has followed civil rights demonstrations, the klan has nevertheless also killed merely because the person's skin was black, as in the case of Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn.

KLAN DOCUMENTS ACKNOWLEDGE RELIANCE ON TERRORISM

In the literature which the various klans issue for public consumption, little is stated which reflects the basically conspiratorial and terroristic nature of a klan. In this respect, klans are no different from many other organizations, which put forth a false front to conceal the conspiracy by which they seek to carry out their purposes. Klans, by whatever name they are known, are conspiracies to deny to some of our citizens rights guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution of the United States.

In this respect, klans have remained unchanged for 100 years. Intimidation and violence aimed at depriving others of constitutional rights have been a product of every generation of klansmen since Nathan Bedford Forrest assumed command of the fledgling organization in 1867.

The techniques employed in covert, terroristic klan activity have varied considerably over the years. Committee investigation of modern klan organizations showed that strategy and tactics are usually discussed verbally in meetings closed to non-klansmen. Although the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is one of the most security-conscious of present-day klan organizations, it made the mistake of committing its tactics to writing. The committee obtained a number of mimeographed directives which, while not identified as to source, were established to have originated in the headquarters of the Mississippi klan. Three of the documents were nothing less than manuals for klan terrorists.

The documents are so illuminative with respect to the fundamental evil of klan organizations—past and present—that the committee is reproducing them in their entirety in this report.¹ No matter how loudly klan leaders may proclaim their innocence of violent intent, the committee's investigations and hearings established that the terroristic program set forth in the White Knights mimeographed directives is emulated, with variations as to details, by all major klan organizations.

One of the documents, titled "Executive Lecture of March 1, 1964," was prepared for the benefit of all officers and members of the White Knights shortly after the klan was created by a cadre of individuals banished from the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The White Knights is an organization of "militants," the Executive Lecture declared. "As MILITANTS, we are disposed to the use of physical force against our enemies."²

Klan activity was represented to be a type of military operation. Klansmen were instructed in this Lecture to think of themselves as "soldiers" at "war" with an enemy which must not only be fought but utterly destroyed. A "good set of books on guerrilla warfare" was to be kept in each local unit of the klan and "studied by all personnel." Klansmen were also advised not to make "the classic military blunder of permitting the ENEMY to choose the battleground and set the conditions of the battle."

Instructions contained in the Executive Lecture with respect to security, intelligence gathering and propaganda functions of local White Knights klaverns have been described in preceding sections of this report. It should be recalled that even the propaganda function was represented in the Lecture as a "weapon of modern war" which could serve to destroy an enemy "socially" or "economically." If an enemy failed to succumb under such attacks, however, the Executive Lecture stated that he should be "physically destroyed."

PREPARATIONS FOR PHYSICAL COMBAT

A second directive emanating from the White Knights headquarters on May 3, 1964, bore the simple title "Imperial Executive Order." This Order prescribed various types of physical combat in which White Knights members should be prepared to engage during the summer of 1964. The enemy was identified in the directive as civil rights demonstrators.³

Klansmen were instructed to avoid "if possible" any open daylight conflict with civil rights demonstrators in which klansmen might appear to be acting as klan members or as private citizens. The klansman's first contact with the "enemy in the streets" should be as "le-

¹ See appendix pp. 164-168 for Executive Lecture of March 1, 1964; pp. 169-171 for Imperial Executive Order; and pp. 172, 173 for document on Harassment. White Knights officers, questioned by the committee in public hearings, refused to testify to the origin or use of these documents.

² The directive asserted that the use of force was justified by the klan's goal of preserving "Christian civilization" from destruction by the "Communist" enemy. The fictitiousness of this goal is apparent from the definition of communism in the directive. Communism is misrepresented as being an "evil, malignant, supernatural force," an "agency of Satan."

³ By resorting to such mythology, the klan gave a false cast of virtue to its advocacy of illegal, terroristic acts. As the Executive Lecture stated, for example, klansmen were simply "Christian soldiers" battling to "save our lives, our Nation and our Christian civilization."

⁴ In an attempt to justify klan violence, the directive described the demonstrators as being aided by mythical "Communist authorities in charge of the National Government."

gally-deputized law enforcement officers," the directive declared. Members of the White Knights accordingly should volunteer to serve as deputies with local law enforcement agencies.

Those klansmen who succeeded in attaching themselves to local law enforcement units were reminded that the klan oath had precedence over any oath to uphold the law. "We must cooperate with our Law enforcement officials, but we must never place ourselves entirely at that [sic] disposal, nor under their complete control," the directive warned. "We must always remember that while Law enforcement officials have a 'JOB' to do, we, as Christians, have a Responsibility, and have taken an OATH to preserve Christian Civilization."

The Executive Order called for the formation of "secondary groups" of klansmen who were to go into action when it appeared that officers of the law and deputized members of the White Knights were losing "control of the streets." A secondary group was described as being "an extremely swift and violent Hit and Run group." Such groups were to be "armed and ready to move on very short notice." They were to remain away from the "main area of conflict" until called into action.

After a secondary group receives an order to attack, it is supposed to remain in action for no more than an hour. It was instructed to be many miles away from the scene of conflict two hours after its commitment. The tasks of these groups, according to the Order, were—

swiftly and vigorously to attack the Local headquarters of the enemy, destroy and disrupt his leadership and communications * * * and any news communication equipment or agents in the area. The action of this Secondary group must be very swift and very forceful with no holds barred. * * * The enemy should be completely confused when he loses his headquarters and his leadership.

Klan terrorism under cover of darkness was also provided for in the Executive Order:

* * * We must roll with the MASS punch which they will deliver in the streets during the day, and we must counterattack the INDIVIDUAL leaders at night. In our night work any harassment which we direct against the MASS of the Enemy should be of a minor nature and should be primarily [sic] against his equipment (transportation and communication) rather than the PERSONS of the MASS enemy. Any Personal attacks on the enemy should be carefully planned to include *only* the leaders and prime white collaborators of the enemy forces. These attacks against these selected, individual targets should, of course, be as severe as circumstances and conditions will permit. * * *

In order to be prepared for combat, the directive further stated, weapons and ammunition had to be accumulated and stored; squads drilled; propaganda equipment set up and ready to roll; counterattack maps, plans and information studied and learned; and radio and other communications established.

A third White Knights document dealt entirely with methods of "harassing" the klan's enemies. The document sadistically observed that harassment fulfilled two important goals:

1. It provides a healthy, not-too-dangerous outlet for the Spirited Enthusiasm of the Membership and trains them to work together. If successful [sic], it boosts morale.
2. It always has the latent possibility of goading the enemy into premature or ill-considered action, whereby he may make a Major Mistake which we can capitalize upon.

Harassment involves "minor" acts which give the appearance of being ridiculous jokes but are actually "deadly serious," the directive

explained. Equipment listed in the document as being "useful in harassment" indicated the great variety of forms such klan vengeance may take:

1. Roofing Nails.
2. Sugar and Molasses.
3. Firecrackers.
4. Snakes and Lizards.
5. Mad Dogs.
6. Itching Powder.
7. Stink Bombs.
8. Tear Gas.
9. Paint.
10. Lacquer Thinner.
11. Sling Shots, Marbles, BB Guns, Air Rifles, Bow and Arrow, Crossbows.
12. Blank Cartridges and Pistols.
13. Roman Candles.
14. Skyrockets.
15. Salt and Pepper.
16. Noisemakers.

COVERT KLAN ACTIVITIES LEADING TO DEATH, DESTRUCTION AND FEAR

Evidence that members of presently-operating klans actively engage in acts of intimidation—ranging from cross-burnings to murder—is spread throughout the record of the committee's public investigative hearings on klan activity.

In calling attention to specific cases, this committee is only attempting to provide examples of the various ways in which klans have repeatedly flouted the law to spread death, destruction and fear in many southern communities in recent years.

INTIMIDATION WITHOUT PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

Many acts of klan intimidation disclosed by the committee's investigation involved no outward display of violence. That such means sufficed to frighten citizens into doing the klan's bidding was demonstrated again and again during the committee's hearings.

In October 1964, a group of responsible citizens of Bogalusa, La., met to discuss ways and means by which conditions in that city might be improved in order to forestall violent conflicts between Negro and white citizens growing out of civil rights issues. The group, consisting of the former president of the Louisiana Bar Association, a newspaper editor, a radio station owner and ministers representing different denominations, decided to sponsor a speech by former Congressman Brooks Hays on bettering race relations.

The Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan reacted vehemently when the plan became known. Branding the sponsors as "integrationists," the klan publicly threatened that the sponsors and anyone else who planned to listen to the speech would "be dealt with accordingly by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan."

The mayor expressed fear of violent klan objections when sponsors of the Brooks Hays appearance sought cooperation from city officials.

He also frankly confessed that he had been "frightened" when he met with 150 hooded klansmen in what was described as an effort to avert possible civil disorder if Mr. Hays spoke in the city.

Under klan threats of civil disobedience and political reprisal, city officials denied public facilities for the proposed speech.

Meanwhile, the klan took personal action in an effort to force sponsors to withdraw their support for the Hays meeting. Crosses were burned, nails were spilled in the private driveways of sponsors and windows of the lawyer sponsor were broken with rocks. Advertisers of both the local newspaper and radio station were economically threatened if they did not withdraw their advertisements. The station's radio transmitter shack was shot up. A minister was branded a homosexual without the slightest trace of proof.

Klan terror brought about the cancellation of the Brooks Hays speech.

Yet the klan was not satisfied. It continued to harass the lawyer and radio station owner. Klan threats jeopardizing the well being of the family of the station owner necessitated the removal of the wife and children from the State. The continued loss of sponsors due to klan threats forced the station owner to take financial help from the radio industry until advertisers returned. When the klan prevented this, he was forced to sell.

In Mississippi, the White Knights printed scurrilous attacks upon citizens active in the civil rights movement or those who publicly opposed the White Knights. To carry out this campaign, the klan used pseudonyms, such as "The Mississippi White Caps," on its scandal sheets. Through these publications, the White Knights sought to intimidate those it opposed by accusing them of immorality or other repulsive conduct which would have the effect of destroying the influence of the klan's opponents in the community.

Henry Bucklew is mayor of Laurel, Miss. He is former vice president of the National Evangelist Association. He was chief aide and director of George Wallace's presidential campaign in Maryland, North Carolina and Virginia. He is the owner and editor of the *South-ern Baptist News*. Burnings, bombings⁴ and other violent disorders on the part of the White Knights in Laurel, Miss., prompted Mayor Bucklew on October 18, 1965, to appear on television and denounce the White Knights for its role in the violence.

Immediately thereafter, the White Knights put out a special issue of its publication, *The Klan Ledger*, in an attempt to discredit the mayor's charges and to intimidate others from speaking out. The mayor's charges—charges which to a great extent were substantiated by committee investigation—were denied. The klan tried to establish its innocence by discrediting the mayor. It inferred that the mayor's attack upon the klan grew out of malice which resulted (1) from his inability to get money out of the klan and (2) his connection with a malignant anti-Christ conspiracy connected with "LBJ and Katzenback [sic] and the source of all cash."

Policemen and sheriffs opposed to ku klux klan organizations were subjected to the same scurrilous attacks. They were falsely accused of being the recipients of graft, characterized as Negro lovers, accused

⁴ Discussed later in this chapter.

of having illicit sexual relations with Negro women, or being the father of illegitimate children. In some communities, law enforcement officers attacked by the klan were working side by side with officers who were klan members and who, at the same time, were receiving klan support. As a result of these attacks many law enforcement personnel, rather than defend themselves against attacks, either sought the favor of the klan or else resolved to see no evil, hear no evil or speak no evil if a klan were involved.

In North Carolina during 1965, members of a United Klans of America klavern burned a cross on the property of a Greenville real estate dealer who allegedly sold a home in a white residential area to a Negro family. Members of this same klavern also threatened to beat a young mentally retarded male if they again caught him in the company of Negroes. Members were sent to Vanceboro to beat that city's mayor because he was helping Negroes to obtain employment. Fear of arrest caused those klansmen so assigned to return to their klavern without carrying out the deed. Klansmen also intimidated a former member whom they suspected might give testimony against the klan by telling him that the word had been put out "to get you."

In Griffin, Ga., two Negroes owned a dry cleaning and tailoring establishment which was patronized by white residents. The owners were also active in a bi-racial committee which was achieving much success. On April 24, 1964, five klansmen, at that time members of the United Klans of America, drove into Griffin in two automobiles. At 2:00 p.m., they drove in front of the tailoring shop. While one klansman planted a cross in the ground, others brandished weapons and held at bay all citizens then occupying the street. The cross was ignited and the klansmen fled. They were later apprehended and charged under Georgia law with pointing a gun at a person. After the trial of one defendant resulted in a mistrial, the charges were reduced to disorderly conduct. Bail on the lesser charges was set at \$100 each, and all forfeited bail by not showing up for trial. An arsenal of weapons seized by police was returned to the defendants by court order.⁵

BEATINGS ADMINISTERED BY KLANSMEN

In Washington Parish, La., the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, operating in that area under the cover name Anti-Communist Christian Association, administered beatings in order to interfere with or prevent persons from obtaining rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

On February 3, 1965, for example, five of these klansmen assaulted a CORE worker in an attempt to force him to leave Bogalusa. This action was taken after the mayor of Bogalusa refused a klan request to remove CORE workers from the city, including the assaulted worker.

Twelve days later, members of the same klan attacked five Negro citizens of Bogalusa and damaged their car shortly after they sought service at a gasoline station.

On April 9, 1965, a klansman affiliated with the Original Knights attacked, with a blackjack, the Negro leader of a march to protest

⁵ A photograph of this arsenal of weapons appears on p. 110 of this report.

denial of voting rights. Brother klansmen assaulted a bystanding newsman and an F.B.I. agent, both present in performance of their duties.

On May 19, 1965, members of the Original Knights used clubs, belts and other weapons to disperse Negroes from Cassidy Park, a public recreation area maintained by the city of Bogalusa.

Klan violence is not restricted to cases relating to civil rights activities. Time and again klans have set themselves up as judges of the moral virtues of the community and pass sentence upon those who failed to meet klan standards. Punishment is often meted out by klansmen who themselves do not adhere to the highest moral standards. Some of these have even been klansmen arrested and/or convicted in the past for such crimes as assault, rape or murder.

The klan sentence imposed in July 1964 on a white male residing in the vicinity of Slidell, La., is a case in point. According to the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, this man stayed out late at night, drank and did not properly take care of his family. These alleged facts had been obtained by the klan bureau of investigation, maintained by the Pearl River klavern. It was decided that the klavern's "wrecking crew" would straighten the man out by beating him. As the man returned home one night from visiting a local barroom, he was apprehended by members of the "wrecking crew." He was dragged into a woods, where each member of the crew took turns at administering a severe beating with a heavy leather belt. The klansmen offered no word of explanation for the beating, and the victim was left lying in the woods. The klansmen were subsequently arrested, tried and convicted for their involvement in this incident.

In Hattiesburg, Miss., committee investigation established that at least five assaults by beating were carried out by klansmen. The victims were mostly white youths active in civil rights activities. One victim was a minister whose home, in addition, was struck by bullets during a gathering of civil rights workers. The klansmen were affiliated with either the White Knights or the United Klans of America, Inc., at the time of their actions.

In Vicksburg, Miss., in March 1965, two white males established to be members of the White Knights were eating in the Vicksburg Cafe, when a 77-year-old Negro entered the cafe. The white males asked the proprietor, "You mean that thing can eat in here?" The two then approached the Negro, threw raw eggs in his face, knocked him to the floor and kicked him. Thereafter, the klansmen proceeded to smash the glass out of the front door and otherwise destroy cafe property. Several days later, the same two men returned to the cafe. This time they threw a molotov cocktail, which broke against the cafe wall. Bent upon putting the cafe out of business, they tossed a second through the cafe window causing extensive damage.

On August 16, 1965, a white male was found dead near his home in the vicinity of Meadville, Miss. This man had broken with the klan and was believed to be in the process of turning his knowledge of klan activities over to law enforcement agencies. While the cause of death was listed as heart failure, an examination of the body showed evidence of a severe beating. There were welts from the bottom of the feet to the top of the head. There was a hole in the top of his head.

A split from the left side of his nose to his left eye was so deep that the roof of the mouth was exposed.

On September 16, 1963, a group of klansmen affiliated with the United Florida Ku Klux Klan, beat a white male resident of Calhoun, Fla. The 62-year-old victim became a subject of klan vengeance on an allegation that he had affairs with Negro women. Four klansmen called at the victim's home. One klansman went to the door and advised the victim that someone in an automobile desired to speak to him. As he left his home, he was hit on the back of his head and forced into the vehicle. In the automobile, he was hit with a pistol and forced to lie on the floorboard where he could not be observed. Ten miles from his home, he was further beaten, warned about his conduct, and abandoned. Cuts sustained by the beating required five or six stitches to close.

ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES

While klu klux klan leaders are apostles of non-violence when questioned about their stand on violence, numerous arrests of klan officers and members have established klans to be arsenals of destruction.

Caches of arms seized in the course of such arrests were never a lone pistol or shotgun or even one or two of each. Most caches included many shotguns, rifles and hand-guns in a variety of gauges and calibers, as well as sizable quantities of ammunition. Many seizures disclosed stores of blasting powder, dynamite, fuses and caps. Others uncovered home-made bombs complete in every detail. Many caches included knives, bayonets and clubs. Some included items of disguise such as hoods, masks and false faces of rubber made to resemble a human or animal.

At least three active klansmen were discovered to be holders of Federal firearms licenses and therefore a source of supply for klansmen located in their area.

Klans were found to be actively promoting instruction in the use of dynamite and other explosive devices, in the use of pistol and rifle, and the use of judo and karate.

Photograph #1 (p. 104) shows items seized on March 28, 1966, from the residence of Sam Holloway Bowers, Jr., imperial wizard, White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi. Bowers, who had been a witness before the committee on Feb. 1, 1966, was in March of the same year being sought by law enforcement authorities investigating the death of Vernon Dahmer, a civil rights leader.

Photograph #2 (p. 105) represents the collection of weapons seized on March 28, 1966, from the residences of Deavours Nix, chief of the White Knights Klan Bureau of Investigation who also appeared as a witness before the committee on Feb. 1, 1966, and Cecil Sessum, a White Knights exalted cyclops. Both men were arrested on the same date in connection with the death of the aforementioned Vernon Dahmer.⁶

Photograph #3 (p. 106) shows some of the 43 items found in a search of the residence and auto of Paul Dewey Wilson at the time of his arrest on September 30, 1964, in McComb, Miss. Wilson was one of a number of members of the United Klans of America arrested and subsequently convicted of participation in a series of bombings in

⁶ Further reference to the Dahmer case will be found on p. 123 of this chapter.



ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES PHOTOGRAPH No. 1

This assortment of weapons, ammunition, and masks was seized Mar. 28, 1966, at the residence of Sam Holloway Bowers, Jr., imperial wizard of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

the McComb area. Police uncovered Russian surplus rifles and ammunition, which committee investigation determined had been purchased from a klansman who was also a federally licensed firearms dealer, Louis A. DiSalvo. The cache in Paul Wilson's possession included, in addition, pistols, billy clubs, a hypodermic syringe, a black leatherette apron and hood, numerous pairs of gloves and a tin deputy sheriff's badge. Both Wilson and DiSalvo invoked constitutional privileges against self-incrimination when interrogated by the committee on Feb. 3, 1966, and Jan. 13, 1966, respectively.

Photograph #4 (p. 107) demonstrates that another arsenal of weapons was maintained by Sterling "Bubba" Gillis, one of Wilson's brother klansmen also convicted for his role in the McComb, Miss., bombings. The weapons were taken from Gillis' home at the time of his arrest on October 5, 1964.

Photograph #5 (p. 108) depicts the home-made bombs stored near the home of Emery Allen Lee, a member of the United Klans convicted in connection with the McComb bombings and a witness before the committee on Feb. 3, 1966. At the time of his arrest, October 5, 1964, police seized pipe bombs, capped and fused and ready for detonation, as well as hand grenades and a large quantity of blasting powder.

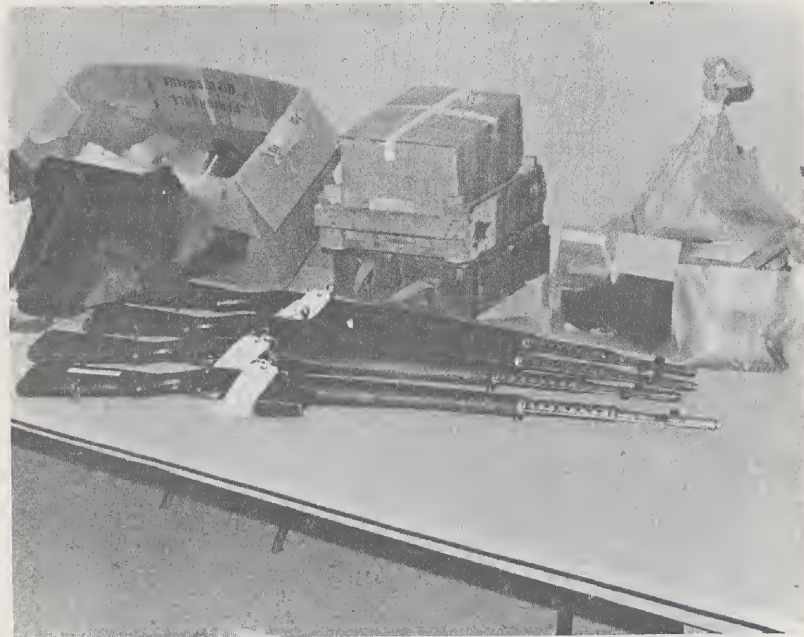


ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES PHOTOGRAPH No. 2

A collection of weapons seized Mar. 28, 1966, from the homes of Deavours Nix, chief of the White Knights Klan Bureau of Investigation, and Cecil Sessum, a White Knights exalted cypops.

Photograph #6 (p. 109) shows weapons and ammunition which for the most part were seized from the home of Myron Wayne "Jack" Seale when he was arrested in Natchez, Miss., on October 23, 1964. Seale, a member of the White Knights who transferred to the United Klans, was charged with assault and battery with intent to kill in connection with an assault on two civil rights workers near Port Gibson, Miss., on October 31, 1963. Seale was interrogated by this committee on February 3, 1966.

Photograph #7 (p. 110) indicates the size of the arsenal carried by five members of the United Klans of America at the time of their arrest on April 24, 1964, in Griffin, Ga., as a result of a cross-burning. The cross was burned in front of a business owned by Negroes active in behalf of civil rights. Rifles, pistols and hundreds of rounds of



ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES PHOTOGRAPH NO. 3

Four Russian surplus rifles and a black leatherette hood and apron, shown above, were included in the arsenal seized from Paul Dewey Wilson, member of the United Klans of America, at the time of his arrest in McComb, Miss., Sept. 30, 1964, in connection with a series of bombings in the area [Paul Wilson Exhibit No. 1—Feb. 3, 1966].

ammunition were recovered from two autos used by the klansmen during this intimidation effort. Each auto was also equipped with a walkie-talkie radio.⁷

Louis A. DiSalvo, of Bay St. Louis, Miss., was an official of the White Knights as well as the holder of a Federal license to sell firearms. Rifles and ammunition purchased by him were traced to other known klansmen as well as Paul Dewey Wilson.

In Bogalusa, La., Howard M. Lee, a self-admitted klansman affiliated with the Original Knights, also held a Federal firearms license. During the period May–August 1964 alone, he purchased for resale 651 weapons of all types. He also purchased a total of 21,192 rounds of ammunition during the same general period. In violation of the Federal Firearms Act, Lee permitted other known klansmen to sell for him rifles, hand-guns and ammunition in bulk quantities without recording the identity of purchasers or by using aliases to cover the true identity of many klansmen. Over 216 violations of the act

⁷The details of this case were presented to the committee by Leo Blackwell, chief of police of Griffin, Ga., who testified on Nov. 2, 1965.



ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES PHOTOGRAPH NO. 4

Weapons pictured above were taken from the home of Sterling "Bubba" Gillis, another member of the United Klans of America, arrested Oct. 5, 1964, in connection with bombings in the McComb, Miss., area.

through such failure to record sales or through the use of aliases were documented.

From Lee's records of sale covering 521 firearms and a considerable quantity of ammunition, the committee was able to document numerous sales to klansmen in both Louisiana and Mississippi. These klansmen were affiliated with the Original Knights (La.), United Klans of America (La. and Miss.) and the White Knights (Miss.).

From available records, it was established that 237 sales of firearms and/or ammunition were made in 18 cities in Louisiana, while 113 sales were made in 18 cities in Mississippi. A total of 117 other sales failed to list city of purchaser, while no records existed on the sale of 148 firearms. Lee was arrested and convicted for violating the Federal Firearms Act and was serving time at the Federal penal institution in Texarkana, Tex., at the time of committee hearings.

In North Carolina, two klansmen, one an imperial officer of the United Klans of America, were determined to be holders of Federal firearms licenses. The records of sales produced by one, who testified he was no longer a member, reflected only a few sales to known klansmen. Records of the imperial officer, Robert Hudgins, were not obtained, and he invoked constitutional privileges in refusing to answer questions on sales to known klansmen.



ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES PHOTOGRAPH NO. 5

Homemade pipe bombs—capped and fused and ready for detonation—as well as hand grenades were seized in connection with the arrest of Emery Allen Lee on Oct. 5, 1964, for participation in the McComb, Miss., bombings [Emery Lee Exhibit No. 1—Feb. 3, 1966].

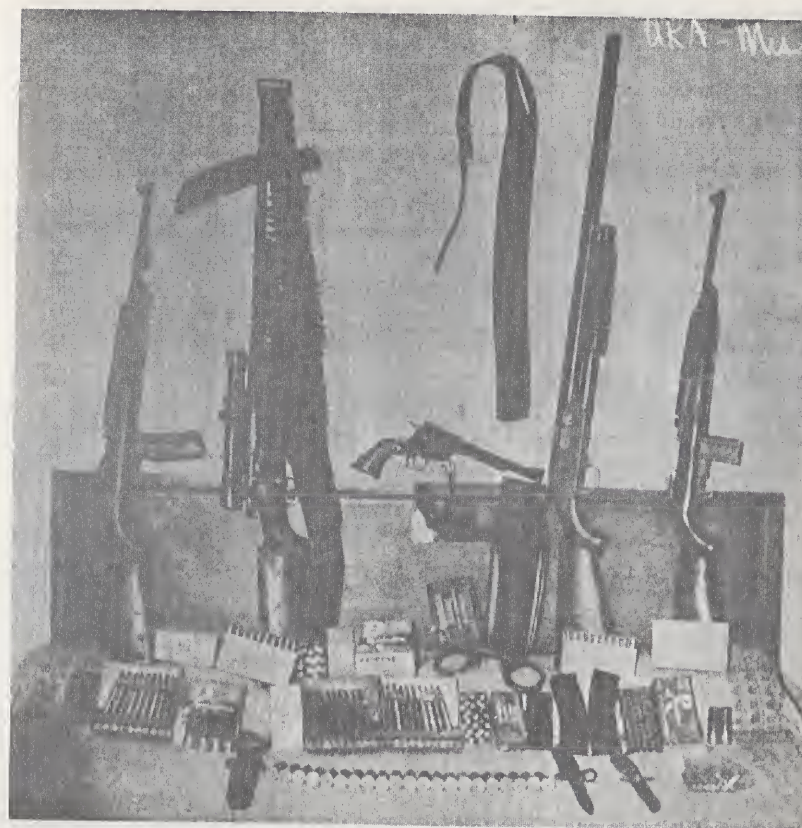
Courses in Firearms and Demolition Devices

Not only did klans provide secured sources for purchases of firearms at cheap prices, but all major klans also provided courses of instruction in uses of rifles, shotguns and hand-guns. In addition, klans gave instruction in the method of manufacture and use of detonating devices of various descriptions and components.

The fact that in October, 1961, the present Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton and Georgia Grand Dragon Calvin Craig of the United Klans of America attended such a course of instruction for Georgia klansmen and others, creates strong evidence of their condoning the use of explosives by the klan.

Likewise, official approval of the raising of funds for klansmen arrested for acts of violence strongly indicates their condoning violence. The committee documented aid of this type with respect to the klansmen involved in the murders of Lt. Col. Penn (Ga.) and Viola Liuzzo (Ala.) and in the bombings in McComb, Miss. All of the klansmen were affiliated with the United Klans of America.

A letter which the grand dragon for Georgia sent to Georgia klansmen, soliciting defense funds for the McComb, Miss., bombers, demonstrated that the klan was well aware of the implications which would



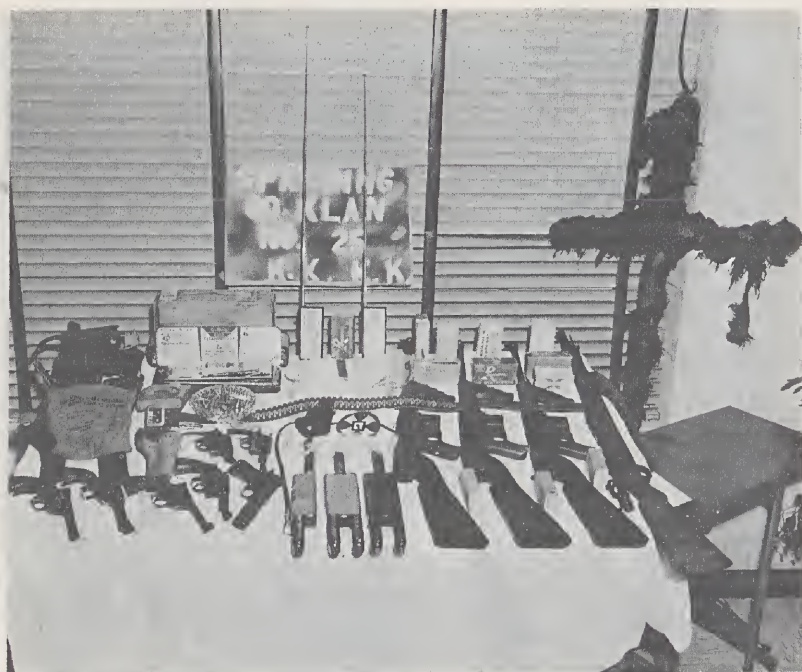
ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES PHOTOGRAPH NO. 6

The weapons and ammunition photographed above, with the exception of two pistols, were taken from the home of Myron Wayne "Jack" Seale when he was arrested in Natchez, Miss., Oct. 23, 1964, in connection with an assault on two civil rights workers [Myron Seale Exhibit No. 4—Feb. 3, 1966].

be drawn from its defense of members accused of resort to violence. The letter also illustrated the United Klans' policy of refusing to acknowledge klan membership by such defendants. The Georgia grand dragon wrote:

Due to the arrest of several white Mississippians who have been charged in connection with the recent bombings in McComb, Miss. The Grand Dragon of Miss. advises me that it is nessessary [sic] to go to the assistance of these men who have been implicated by the press that they are Klansmen. However the only thing they had concering [sic] the Klan was a complimentary card of some sort. As you know we do not condone nor advocate such acts of violence, but we beleive [sic] these men are victims of circumstances [sic]. Miss. needs your help send your donations to

E. L. McDANIEL,
G.D. Miss., P.O. Box 1341,
Natchez, Miss



ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES PHOTOGRAPH NO. 7

The rifles and pistols pictured above, as well as hundreds of rounds of ammunition, were taken from two autos used by members of the United Klans in carrying out an intimidating cross-burning in Griffin, Ga., Apr. 24, 1964. Also pictured are the charred remains of the cross and a sign taken from one of the autos referring to a Spalding Co. klavern of the United Klans [Leo Blackwell Exhibit No. 1—Nov. 2, 1965].

At the October 1961 demonstration, held near Macon, Ga., klan officials and klansmen were instructed in the manufacture and use of a booby trap, how to rig various types of fuse caps to dynamite, how to prepare a short duration time bomb with cigarette and matches controlling the elapsed time, how to start an intense fire with powdered sugar, potassium chlorate and sulphuric acid, and how to destroy an automobile with a jar full of gasoline and a firecracker. Following these demonstrations, those present engaged in practicing the use of revolver and rifle.

In October 1964 on the farm of Exalted Cyclops Robert L. Bing in Henry Co., Ga., United Klansmen were again instructed in the use of explosives. Many demonstrations of October 1961 were repeated, although the instructors, as well as the students, were different klansmen. At this time, however, those present were also instructed in the use of Molotov cocktails, how to disassemble and assemble an M-1 rifle and given instruction in planning and executing guerrilla warfare techniques of capturing a radio station and power plant.

The committee obtained a memorandum signed by the grand dragon of the Georgia Realm of the United Klans, dated January 17, 1965. The first sentence read: "We will start judo, karate, and rifle and pistol firing training on Monday, January 25, 1965, at the Henry County #60 Klavern."

Individual klan leaders are known to be proficient in the manufacture and detonation of explosive devices. The present United Klans of America grand dragon for Virginia, while an official of the organization in North Carolina, demonstrated an incendiary device for a group of klansmen. Although this device contained the same ingredients as a device demonstrated in Georgia in 1961, the method of assembly differed.

Committee investigation established that in Mississippi, White Knights klansmen were instructed in the art of judo. White Knights leaders emphasized arson because of the difficulty of tracking down the perpetrators. Consequently, most demonstrations were on the manufacture and use of Molotov cocktails and/or incendiary devices. White Knights also specialized in the use of ammonia which they would spray from plastic squeeze bottles.

Dynamite is an easily accessible item in rural areas of the United States. Oil and gas exploration in Southern States, as well as off-shore, makes blasting powder readily available. This easy access presents many opportunities to klansmen bent on violent acts as a means of enforcing their policies. Members of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan in December, 1963, burglarized the dynamite shacks of a Jacksonville construction company, stealing 13 cases of 60% nitro-dynamite and large quantities of electric blasting caps and fuses. Part of this dynamite was used in the Godfrey bombing.⁸

Members of the National Knights in Georgia, transferred to Ohio a quantity of dynamite from their Georgia cache. It was transported to Ohio by National Knights members from that Northern State.

The number of bombings in Mississippi, in which both White Knights and United Klansmen were involved, established possession of large quantities of dynamite and blasting powder by these klans. Members and officers of the White Knights were urged to possess sufficient arms and ammunition "to accomplish any assigned mission." At a meeting in October 1964, Julius Harper, then grand dragon of the White Knights,⁹ directed his klansmen having explosives to bury them for the present time for possible later use. This date coincides with the arrest of United Klans members for a series of bombings in the McComb area.¹⁰

BOMBINGS AND ARSON

The McComb, Miss., Bombers

From April to October 1964, more than 25 bombings and/or acts of arsons took place in the vicinity of McComb, Miss. While the methods of carrying out these violent acts showed a remarkable degree of similarity, the committee was unable to establish each act as the responsibility of a klan or its members. Committee investigation, together with sworn testimony, however, definitely established klan involvement in the majority of the crimes.

⁸ The Godfrey bombing is discussed further on p. 117 of this chapter.
⁹ As grand dragon, Harper was second in command of the White Knights organization.
¹⁰ Discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The klan responsible for these acts was the United Klans of America, Inc. The klansmen involved belonged to klaverns which the United Klans had organized in the McComb area. The violent acts were carried out by the membership of a klavern headed by Exalted Cyclops Ray Smith and another klavern organized in August 1964 under Exalted Cyclops Paul Wilson, a direct participant in the violence.

Paul Wilson threw a three-stick dynamite bomb at the residence of a Negro preacher in order to scare him into abandoning his civil rights activities. He performed this act pursuant to a telephone request by a man, who, according to Wilson, identified himself only as being a klansman. The caller gave Wilson instructions on the place to be bombed and the place where Wilson could pick up the dynamite bomb to be used.

Billy Earl Wilson, an admitted former klansman, gave the committee considerable information on klan violence during interviews by the staff, as well as in sworn testimony in executive and public hearings. Billy Wilson admitted his involvement in klan bombings in the McComb area while a member of the United Klans of America, assigned to either the klavern headed by Ray Smith or Paul Wilson.

Billy Wilson had joined the United Klans of America in July 1964, at the age of 22. Within three weeks of his initiation, he was recruited by his cousin, Paul Wilson, to bomb the residence of Charles Bryant, a Negro supporter of civil rights activities. The victim was the brother of Curtis Bryant, an NAACP leader whose own residence had been bombed on April 28, 1964. Accompanying the Wilsons on the night of July 26, were Hilton Dunaway and Gerald Lawrence, also members of the United Klans of America. Others were involved in the planning and execution of the bombing of Charles Bryant's home. The dynamite bomb was made by a fifth party whose identity, however, is unknown. The automobile used was parked in a woods without a driver by a person or persons unknown to Billy Wilson.

Following the formation of the new klavern headed by Paul Wilson, violent acts were assigned to members of the new klavern by means of a drawing. A hat containing slips of paper, each with the name and address of an intended victim, was placed on a table following the klavern meeting. Klan members were requested to draw "their job." Only the klansman drawing a slip knew the identity of the victim. Likewise, it was the klansman's responsibility to plan the violent act, obtain the dynamite bomb or material necessary for arson, and recruit his accomplice in such act if it could not be performed alone.

Drawings were held at United Klan klavern meetings held on September 1 and again on September 15, 1964. Following the drawing on September 1, five dynamite bombs were exploded on the night of September 7. The places bombed were (1) a pool hall in a "white" section of Bogue Chitto, (2) a Negro church in Auburn, (3 and 4) the residential property of Hugh Washington and the grocery store of Booker T. Gutter, Negroes in Summit and (5) the residential property of Allen Coney, a Negro school principal in Magnolia. On September 9, Billy Wilson and other klansmen bombed the property of a Negro preacher, James Baker, in the McComb area with the dynamite bomb which had not been used on the victim assigned to Billy Wilson during the September 1 drawing.

Following the drawing of September 15, dynamite bombs were exploded on September 20 at the Society Hill Missionary Church, a Negro church used for civil rights activity, and at the residence of Mrs. Alyene Quinn, a Negro restaurant operator. On the 23rd of September, bombs were exploded on the properties of Negroes Matthew Jackson and Artis Garner. All of these bombings were in the McComb area.

Billy Wilson admitted involvement in the bombing of Alyene Quinn's residence¹¹ and identified his accomplices as fellow klansmen Paul Dewey Wilson, Jimmy Prinston Wilson, and Ernest Zeeck. The dynamite bomb used was obtained from klansman Emery Allen "Al" Lee, who possessed a sizable quantity of bombs. Lee wrote a letter bragging about the role he played. " * * * I am the one who is the demolition expert who made all the bombs and told the others where to go with them," he wrote. "I am proud of my part. * * *"

In addition to the Quinn bombing, Jimmy Wilson was involved with Paul Wilson and Murphy John Duncan, Jr., in the arson of the Negro Sweet Home Missionary Baptist Church near McComb on July 18, 1964. Duncan, the treasurer or klabee of the Ray Smith klavern, later in 1964 became state treasurer or grand klabee of the Mississippi Realm of the United Klans of America. He was also a



Residence of Alyene Quinn in McComb, Miss., following bombing on Sept. 20, 1964, by members of the United Klans of America.

¹¹ A photograph indicating the devastating nature of the bomb attack on the Quinn home appears on this page. Two children asleep in the home at the time miraculously escaped injury.

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¹¹ A photograph indicating the devastating nature of the bomb attack on the Quinn home appears on this page. Two children asleep in the home at the time miraculously escaped injury.

delegate to the national convention (klonvokation) held in Birmingham in September 1964.

Emery Allen Lee and another klansman, Sterling "Bubba" Gillis, at whose place of business klavern meetings were held, took part in the bombing of the Society Hill Missionary Church, referred to above.

White Knights "Projects"

The United Klans of America, which was responsible for the bombing and arson in the McComb area, did not have exclusive jurisdiction in this type of violence. The White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi carried out bombings and arson with equal vigor against individuals and organizations it designated as enemies.

Committee investigation established that violent acts were described within the White Knights as "projects" or "jobs." Prior to November 1964, when a temporary moratorium was declared on projects of arson, bombing and murder, the White Knights had 97 projects in proposed or planning stages. In the Jones County area of Mississippi, from May 1964 to October 1965, over 40 acts of assault, bombing or arson were carried out against persons or property. Victims were either active in the field of civil rights or were otherwise contributing to desegregation. White Knights Imperial Wizard Bowers at a klan meeting held south of Jackson on July 18, 1965, bragged that over 16 acts of arson involving buildings in Laurel were the responsibility of the White Knights.

The Laurel newspaper *Leader-Call* was bombed on May 10, 1964. This bombing was planned by the White Knights because of the anti-klan position taken by that paper. The quantity of dynamite used was small in order not to damage an adjacent bowling alley in which the White Knights Imperial Wizard leased space for vending machines which he owned.

The Council of Federated Organizations headquarters in Laurel was burned on February 17, 1965. According to members and officers of the White Knights klavern at Ellisville, this burning was a project of the State organization under the jurisdiction of the imperial wizard.

Outside Jones County, the White Knights were also responsible for "projects" of bombing and arson. On August 27, 1964, a bomb was thrown through the rear window of a building located in Jackson, Miss., which housed the offices of the *Northside Reporter*, a weekly newspaper published by Hazel Brannon Smith. Mrs. Smith had been the subject of much criticism by the klan for her editorial policy on racial issues. The blast destroyed equipment and knocked a four-foot hole in the rear wall of the building. On September 6, 1964, at a White Knights State executive meeting, the grand giant reported that he had been asked by Jackson klansmen to obtain permission to eliminate Mrs. Smith. On the night of the bombing, Mrs. Smith was in Atlantic City, N.J.

At a meeting of White Knights State officers on October 11, 1964, discussion centered around the bombing of the Council of Federated Organizations headquarters in Vicksburg, Miss. The imperial wizard made the statement: "They will not find out who did that one as I sent someone in from the outside."

Alabama

The work force of the W. S. Dickey Clay Manufacturing Company, Bessemer, Ala., is largely Negro. Sixteen employees classified as inspectors, all white, petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for representation by the United Brick and Clay Workers Union. Although trade union issues were advanced to justify this request, the inspectors actually desired to form a new local not dominated and controlled by Negroes. Contract demands by the United Brick and Clay Workers local led to a strike by the local against Dickey in February 1965. The majority of Dickey employees, affiliated with the United Steelworkers, continued to work under the terms of their binding contract.

The exalted cyclops of the Bessemer klavern of the United Klans of America was the leader in the formation of the United Brick and Clay Workers local. At least one other inspector was identified as being a United Klansman.

With the beginning of picketing on February 8, klansmen not employed by Dickey assumed prominent roles in the strike action. With the arrival of klansmen such as Collie Leroy Wilkins, who was to gain notoriety as a defendant in the Viola Liuzzo murder case, violence against non-striking employees and plant property began. On February 18, a bomb was exploded, damaging plant property, and the vehicle of a worker was struck by a shotgun blast. Between this date and March 12, when the company obtained an injunction against unlawful acts, property of the company and cars of employees were extensively damaged. Methods of destruction ranged from placing sugar in the gasoline tank of a company truck to explosions on company property and the sabotage of gas mains used to supply the kilns. In spite of the injunction, nine explosions causing considerable damage occurred between March 12 and August 9, together with damage to automobiles of employees by gun blasts. Committee investigation established that six members of the United Klans not employed by the firm were involved in the violence at the Dickey plant. No arrests or convictions grew out of the violence.

North Carolina

Between 8:30 and 9:30 p.m. on January 24, 1965, three different explosions occurred in New Bern, Craven County, N.C. Two of the explosions occurred almost simultaneously outside the St. Peter's A.M.E. Church, where a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was in progress. The third explosion occurred at Oscar's Mortuary outside New Bern in Craven County. The mortuary was owned by Oscar Dove, a member of the NAACP active in civil rights efforts in Craven County.

Arrested and charged with the bombings were three white males. One of them, Raymond Duguid Mills,¹² served as the exalted cyclops of a United Klans of America klavern known by the cover name, Craven County Improvement Association. The three pleaded guilty and received suspended sentences on June 3, 1965.

¹² Mills was interrogated by the committee in executive session August 24, 1965. The committee subsequently voted to make his testimony public.

After the arrest, the North Carolina grand dragon of the United Klans of America indicated the klan was being falsely accused because a klan investigation had established the innocence of the arrested klan officer. Following the guilty plea, the grand dragon denounced Exalted Cyclops Mills and claimed that he had been banished from the klan because of the klan's alleged intolerance of violence.

Committee investigation established from original minutes of the klavern that, back on August 17, 1964, the Craven County Improvement Association took the following action: "We also decide to burn 3 cross [sic] one at Osker Funerl [sic] Home, one on Brices Creek Road, and one in Pamlico County. The meeting was then ajourind [sic]. The Klexter built the cross for us."¹³

*Aug 17 64 20 members present
 Burning ceremony was carried
 out. The first business was
 to Natallize 3 new members.
 # 100 # 75 # 77. It was an
 impressive ceremony.
 The K.C. gave out part of both the Klan
 District gave the second and third parts.
 # 15 explained the the person who
 owned the building was pressing
 for us to buy it.
 The Klavan brought up new members.
 We also decide to burn 3 cross one
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 was then ajourind. The Klexter built the
 cross for us.*

Minutes of a meeting on Aug. 17, 1964, reveal decision of a North Carolina klavern of the United Klans, also known as the Craven County Improvement Association, to carry out intimidating cross-burnings [Raymond Mills Exhibit No. 2—Aug. 24, 1965].

¹³ The minutes of this klavern meeting of August 17, 1964, are reproduced on this page.

Mills was never actually banished from the United Klans. However, according to evidence obtained by the committee, he was suspended for his own protection soon after his arrest. Following his suspension, klaverns of the United Klans of America in North Carolina were requested to contribute to his defense.

Florida

In 1963, a permanent injunction against any interference with the integration of the public schools in Duval County, Fla., was issued by the U.S. District Court, Jacksonville, Fla. In September of that year, Donald Godfrey, a six-year-old, became the first Negro to enroll in Lackawanna Elementary School, Jacksonville.

In protest against this act of integration, members of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan planned various actions to force withdrawal of Donald Godfrey from the previously all white elementary school. Wives of klansmen, some with students enrolled in Lackawanna, formed picket lines protesting the integration. When this was not successful, klansmen attempted to scare the Godfrey family by firing a flare gun into the residence. However, the flare gun failed to function.

When such efforts did not force the withdrawal of Godfrey from school, the klansmen began planning more severe methods of retaliation.

In December, some eight members of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan broke into two construction sheds in Jacksonville and stole 13 cases of 60% nitro dynamite. Some of this dynamite was broken down and packed into a one-gallon can which had previously held a paint thinner. The dynamite was capped and fused and placed under the Godfrey residence. At 2:55 a.m., February 16, 1964, the dynamite bomb exploded, causing considerable damage to the structure. No occupant of the residence was injured by the blast.

Following the blast, William Sterling Rosecrans, the klansman who made and planted the bomb, was spirited from Jacksonville to St. Augustine by fellow klansmen. With the assistance of a UFKKK official in that area, the klansmen obtained employment for Rosecrans, who used an alias to conceal his true identity.

From the evidence obtained by the committee, there is a strong suspicion that Rosecrans was later arrested because certain klansmen turned him in with the hope of collecting a reward offered for the apprehension of the person or persons responsible for certain railroad bombings which took place during the period of the Godfrey bombing. Rosecrans, under polygraph examination, was cleared of involvement in the railroad bombing. However, his involvement in the Godfrey bombing was established. He thereafter confessed to his crime and told of the roles he and other members of the United Florida klan played in the Godfrey affair.

Rosecrans was sentenced to serve seven years, but the five other klansmen who were indicted for their involvement were acquitted. One was acquitted on July 5, 1964, following their first trial. Following a second trial, the remaining four were acquitted on November 25, 1964.

The Godfrey bombing case offers an illustration of how ku klux klan organizations, while separate and autonomous, work together in

order to perpetuate the secrecy of klandom and discourage klansmen from informing on members of the brotherhood involved in crimes.

On November 21-22, 1964, before the second trial of UFKKK members was terminated, the United Klans of America held a public recruiting rally in Jacksonville. United Klans of America leaders stayed at the Capri Motel while in Jacksonville. At the motel United Klans of America officers met with UFKKK defendants. The UKA's Imperial Klonsel Matt Murphy was serving as one of the counsel for some of the defendants, although the UKA had no organizational tie with the United Florida Ku Klux Klan. At this same motel meeting, furthermore, the UKA agreed to "take care of Rosecrans" if the opportunity presented itself. Certain klansmen from Alabama were assigned to the task of eliminating Rosecrans. Rosecrans, however, remained in Federal custody. Legal action initiated by the klans to free him from jail was unsuccessful. It appears that klandom planned to free Rosecrans from prison in order to kill him as an object lesson to others.

Louisiana

In July 1965 leaders of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan met at Covington, La. Part of the discussion at this meeting related to the burning of churches throughout the State of Louisiana. The churches were those that were being used for meetings or discussions on civil rights matters. (Many churches selected by the klan for destruction, whether in Louisiana by the Original Knights, or in other States by different klans, became targets not on the basis of facts about such meetings but on the mere suspicion that meetings were held. Investigation by the committee disclosed that some churches burned had never been used for civil rights activities.)

Following the meeting in Covington, klansmen in the Slidell-Pearl River area of Louisiana held meetings to plan church-burnings in their area. These meetings were attended by members of the "wrecking crew," a unit within each klavern of the Original Knights. At these meetings the Hartsell Methodist Youth Center and the Providence Baptist Church, both of Slidell, were selected by klansmen for destruction by fire. They planned to soak each building with gasoline and fire the gasoline after their departure by means of a fuse consisting of a cigarette and wooden matches. The cigarette and matches were assembled in such a manner as to cause the cigarette to ignite the matches, and the matches to ignite the gasoline-soaked lumber of the church buildings. The amount of get-away time was controlled by the distance between the matches and the lighted end of the cigarette. At about 1:00 a.m. on August 5, 1965, the churches selected were burned as planned.

Based on information obtained from one of the involved klansmen, six members of the Original Knights, including the informant, were arrested. They were charged not only with the burning, but with an illegal beating dealt with in another section of this chapter.

THOU SHALT NOT KILL

Sudden Death in Georgia

At about 4:10 a.m. on July 11, 1964, a 1959 Chevrolet sedan stopped for a traffic signal in Athens, Ga. Bearing District of Columbia license plates, the car was occupied by three Negro men enroute to the District of Columbia from Fort Benning, Ga. Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn and the other two occupants of the car had four hours earlier completed a tour of active duty with the U.S. Army Reserves.

While waiting for the signal to turn green, they were observed by John Howard Sims, Cecil William Myers and James S. Lackey, three members of the United Klans of America who followed the reservists' car as it left Athens.

As the cars raced along Highway 172, near Colbert, Ga., Lackey, who was driving the car occupied by klansmen, began to pass the reservists' car driven by Lt. Col. Penn. As the klansmen drew abreast, Sims and Myers fired sawed-off shotguns, killing Lt. Col. Penn.

Sims, Myers and Lackey had been in the klan for some time. Sims had been active in St. Augustine, Fla., and Birmingham, Ala. They were all, in 1964, members of the Clarke County Klavern No. 244, United Klans of America.

This klavern's history dates back to 1960, when the U.S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., chartered Oglethorpe County Klavern No. 244, with headquarters at Crawford, Ga., 14 miles east of Athens.

In February 1961 the klavern became a part of the newly-chartered United Klans of America, later headed by Robert M. Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Ala.

New members were recruited from Athens when the klan exploited the scheduled desegregation of Athens public schools in 1963. Late that year, the klavern moved to Athens, with Joseph Howard Sims as one of the klavern officers.

In March 1964 Sims was arrested as a result of an altercation with a Negro during the klavern's picketing of the Varsity Drive-In Restaurant. At this time, Athens klansmen were acquiring numerous shotguns and cutting the barrels off to a length of 18¼ inches (if cut to 18 inches, they would be illegal weapons). These klansmen were heavily armed while attending klavern meetings.

Differences over the use of violence resulted in the formation within the klavern of a moderate faction led by the exalted cyclops and a militant one led by Sims. Investigation of the factional strife by State officers of the United Klans in March 1964 resulted, not in the expulsion of the militants, but in the creation of a new, separate klavern for such militants as Sims and other persons later involved in the Penn murder. This new unit was given the name of Clarke County Klavern No. 244.

On June 21, 1964, a shotgun loaded with buckshot was discharged into the rear door of Apartment 3 of the Broad Acres Apartments in Athens, Ga. Two of the buckshot pellets struck John Clink, 19 years old, Negro male, in the face near the right eye. Two pellets also

struck Alice Fair, a 13-year-old Negro girl, one on the nose and one on the lip. Investigators established that the shotgun blast was discharged from one of two cars at the scene. The cars were owned by members of the Clarke County Klavern No. 244, Herbert Guest and Denver W. Phillips, who were later implicated in the Penn killing. Guest, Phillips and Paul Strickland, also a member of Klavern No. 244, were subsequently arrested for the Broad Acres shooting.¹⁴

In spite of its public pronouncements against violence, the United Klans took no action to suspend its members pending judicial findings as to their guilt or innocence in the Penn murder case. Instead, officers of the Georgia Realm of the United Klans met on August 18, 1964, to plan the defense of klansmen involved in the Penn case. Following the meeting, Imperial Wizard Shelton sent a letter to all United Klans units in seven Southern States asking klan members to donate \$1.00 each to a defense fund. Hampton Turner and Tom Whitehead, officers of Clarke County Klavern No. 244, were designated as custodians of the fund which amounted to nearly \$3,000.¹⁵

VIOLA LIUZZO

At approximately 8:00 p.m. on March 25, 1965, an Oldsmobile sedan stopped for a traffic signal in Selma, Ala. Bearing Michigan license plates, the car was occupied by a middle-age white woman, Viola Liuzzo, and a 19-year-old Negro youth, Leroy Moton, who were enroute from Selma to Montgomery, Ala., after participating in a civil rights march.

While waiting for the signal to turn green, they were observed by Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., Eugene Thomas, William Orville Eaton and Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr., all members of the United Klans of America. The klansmen were also enroute to Montgomery in a car owned and driven by Eugene Thomas.

The cars proceeded along U.S. Highway 80 towards Montgomery. About 20 miles east of Selma, klansman Thomas, the driver of the klansmen-laden vehicle, passed the car driven by Mrs. Liuzzo. As the car drew abreast Eaton and Wilkins opened fire with small-arms weapons. Within seconds, the Liuzzo vehicle veered from the highway, coming to a stop in an adjacent field. Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was dead from a shot fired at her by the klansmen. Her passenger, Leroy Moton, was unhurt.

Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., 21, a Fairfield auto mechanic, Eugene Thomas, 42, a Fairfield steelworker, and William Orville Eaton, 41,

¹⁴ On June 30, 1964, Guest and Strickland were convicted of discharging firearms within the city and fined \$100 each. Phillips and Strickland were charged with assault with intent to murder, but have not been tried on the charges.

After the death of Lt. Col. Penn on July 11, 1964, the State of Georgia filed murder charges against Sims, Myers, Lackey and Guest. A county grand jury returned murder indictments against the first three and held Guest as an accessory after the fact. A jury trial in a State court ended in the acquittal of Sims and Myers on Sept. 4, 1964. Lackey was not brought to trial on the State charge.

A Federal grand jury on October 16, 1964, indicted six persons on charges of violating Federal law by conspiring to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate members of the Negro race and in particular, Lemuel A. Penn and his companions on the night of the fatal shooting. Indicted were Sims, Myers, Lackey, Guest, Denver Phillips and George Hampton Turner, all members of the Clarke County Klavern of the United Klans. Jury trials held in Federal court in Athens, Ga., between June 28 and July 8, 1966, resulted in verdicts of acquittal for Lackey, Guest, Phillips and Turner. Sims and Myers were found guilty and sentenced on July 9 to 10 years' imprisonment, the maximum punishment under the Federal law. The conviction of Sims and Myers has been appealed.

¹⁵ A check constituting a donation to the defense fund by a Louisiana klavern of the United Klans known as the Bernice Sportsman's Club is reproduced on p. 121.



One of the checks reflecting donations by klansmen to the legal defense of members of the United Klans on trial as a result of the murder of Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn. The above check was a contribution from a Louisiana klavern of the United Klans using the cover name Bernice Sportsman's Club [George Harris Exhibit No. 5—Jan. 11, 1966].

a former steelworker from Bessemer, were all members of Bessemer Klavern No. 20 of the United Klans of America known by a cover name, "Young Men's Social Club."

Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr., was a member of the United Klans of America klavern in Birmingham known as Eastview Klavern No. 13. Rowe had been a member of a klan since 1957, when he joined at the request of the FBI for the purpose of furnishing that agency with knowledge of klan activities.

While no evidence was uncovered that the klan had ordered an attack on Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, her death resulted from klan action. Her death stemmed from the fact that the klan had within its membership

violence-prone persons like Wilkins, and from the fact that the klan had ordered its members to keep under surveillance the activities of civil rights advocates engaged in a protest march between Selma and Montgomery, Ala. Wilkins, Thomas, Eaton and Rowe had been ordered to Montgomery by Robert Thomas of Birmingham, the former exalted cyclops of the Eastview Klavern and, at that time, the great titan for the State of Alabama. The four klansmen had, just prior to the killing, returned to Selma from Montgomery and were again enroute to Montgomery when they spotted the Liuzzo automobile.

Wilkins, Thomas and Eaton participated in klan activities which resulted in the bombing of the Dickey Clay Manufacturing plant outside Bessemer, Ala., both prior to and following the Liuzzo killing. Wilkins had been convicted in November 1964 for illegally possessing a sawed-off shotgun and was on probation at the time of the Liuzzo murder. In fact, his traveling to Montgomery was in violation of his parole. Wilkins, Thomas and Eaton were known to possess and carry firearms. Therefore, in ordering these klansmen to Montgomery, the klan must accept the responsibility for Mrs. Liuzzo's murder.¹⁶

Murder in Mississippi and Louisiana

Committee investigation established the involvement of a klan in the murders of Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney at Philadelphia, Miss., the murder of Henry Dee and Charles Moore of Meadville, Miss., and the arson murder of Vernon Dahmer at Hattiesburg, Miss.

Klan members involved in these Mississippi murders were, at the time the acts occurred, affiliated with the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi.

With respect to the three civil rights workers, Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney, who were murdered in July 1964, the investigation disclosed that Schwerner, referred to by the klan as "goatee," had been marked for elimination by the klan. Under the organizational structure of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a "project" of murder (or to use the klan designation, "extermination,") required the approval of the imperial wizard. Investigative evidence and testimony reflected that the extermination of Schwerner was approved by Sam Bowers, imperial wizard of the White Knights. The death of Goodman and Chaney seems to have resulted merely from the fact that they were with Schwerner when he was seized.

Following the recovery of the bodies, their killing was discussed at several secret meetings of the White Knights. At a meeting on June 24, 1964, at Jackson, Miss., Billie Buckles, who held the high office of grand giant within the White Knights, discussed this murder in these words: "Now they know what we will do. We have shown them what we will do and we will do it again if necessary."

¹⁶ Wilkins was acquitted by a jury on Oct. 22, 1965, of a murder charge brought by the State. Thomas was acquitted of the same charge by a jury action on Sept. 27, 1966. Eaton died of a heart attack in March 1966 before he had been tried on State charges. Murder not being a Federal offense, all three men were convicted by a jury on Dec. 3, 1965, of Federal charges involving criminal conspiracy to violate the civil rights of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo. Each received the maximum sentence of 10 years in prison. They were released on bond pending appeal of this conviction. In April 1967, an appellate court in New Orleans, La., affirmed the conspiracy convictions of Wilkins and Thomas.

Committee investigation established the White Knights affiliation of a number of the individuals who, together with Imperial Wizard Bowers, have been indicted for these murders. However, because trials of those indicted are still pending, the committee abstains from detailed discussion of klan membership and the facts which it gathered regarding the step by step actions of these klansmen which resulted in the murders.¹⁷

The solidarity of klans in behalf of klansmen called to account for acts of violence was demonstrated by the fact that in December 1964, during a rally of the United Klans of America in West Monroe, La., inquiry was made into the absence of Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton. A Louisiana officer of the United Klans of America explained that Shelton could not be present because he was in Mississippi contacting klaverns for the purpose of raising funds to defend the individuals arrested by the FBI in connection with the Philadelphia, Miss., murders.

Vernon Dahmer, an NAACP official, died as the result of burn sustained in the fire bombing of his residence at Hattiesburg, Miss., on January 10, 1966. Committee knowledge regarding the involvement of members of the White Knights in the death resulting from fire bombing was not brought up during the committee hearings. Nor is it included in this report because of the pending trial of those indicted on Federal charges of conspiracy to violate the civil rights of Vernon Dahmer.¹⁸

On May 2, 1964, two 19-year-old Negro youths were walking on a country road near Meadville, Miss. A pick-up truck with several white male occupants stopped, flashed toy deputy sheriff badges and told the youths, Henry Dee and Charles Moore, that they were wanted for questioning.

On July 12 and 13, 1964, the lower halves of two bodies were found in the Mississippi River channel, 12 miles south of Tallulah, La. The remains were clothed in blue jeans. The legs were tied together with binder twine similar to that used to tie hay bales. In October, the upper parts of the bodies were recovered. The victims were identified as Henry Dee and Charles Moore.

Investigation by Mississippi State Highway Patrol and the Federal Bureau of Investigation resulted in the issuance on November 6, 1964, of warrants for the arrest of James Ford Seale and Charles Marcus Edwards for the murder of Henry Dee and Charles Moore.

Edwards, following his arrest, admitted to the arresting officers that James Seale, himself, and another whom he refused to identify, picked up Dee and Moore with the intention of whipping them. Edwards cited Dee as a "peeping tom" but had nothing derogatory to report about Moore.

Without reporting Dee's alleged crime to police authorities, Edwards admitted that Dee and Moore were taken to a field and whipped. Edwards claimed both were alive when he left them.

¹⁷ Indictments on Federal conspiracy charges, originally handed down in this case in 1965, were dismissed in 1966 on the basis that the jury selection system did not represent a cross section of the population. New Federal indictments on Feb. 27, 1967, named 19 defendants, including Imperial Wizard Bowers, Sheriff Lawrence Rainey, and his deputy, Cecil R. Price.

¹⁸ Indictments on Federal conspiracy charges handed down in June 1966 were dismissed for the same reasons cited in the dismissal of the Philadelphia, Miss., indictments. New indictments on Feb. 27, 1967, named 12 persons in the conspiracy to violate the rights of Vernon Dahmer. They included Imperial Wizard Bowers, the chief of his Klan Bureau of Investigation, Deavours Nix, and a White Knights exalted cyclops, Cecil V. Sessum.

Edwards, James Ford Seale, his brother, Myron Wayne "Jack" Seale, and Ernest Parker, all of whom were involved in or possessed knowledge of the Dee-Moore tragedy, refused to testify when witnesses before the committee in January and February 1966.

Committee investigation established the klan membership, not only of Edwards, James and Jack Seale and Ernest Parker, but also others involved in the Dee-Moore murder.

Warrants of arrest issued against Edwards and James Seale were dropped in January 1965 and the case assigned for further investigation to determine the identity of others involved. No further action had been taken in this matter as of October 1966.

Ernest R. McElveen, who was arrested and charged in the slaying of one Negro deputy sheriff and the wounding of another in Washington Parish, La., in June 1965, was established by committee investigation to be a member of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Bogalusa, La.

CHAPTER VII. BACKGROUND OF SOME KLAN OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

"On the sacred oath of the klansmen, I declare that our leaders are men of high character," Imperial Wizard Shelton assured the audience at a klan rally in October 1961. "A klansman," Shelton added, "is not a common man. * * * He is judged by his character, his reputation, his decency, his loyalty and his love for his fellow man."

The constitution of the United Klans of America, which Shelton heads, states that it is the klan's purpose to unite persons "whose morals are good; whose reputations and vocations are respectable; whose habits are exemplary; who are of sound minds * * *." The constitution of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan specifies that its members should be "sound of mind, sober in habits, of good moral character and not guilty of rape, murder, or treason."

The backgrounds of some of the klan officers and members lead the committee to conclude that klans not only have failed to exclude persons of less than exemplary character, but have actually attracted the very type of individual allegedly proscribed by the organizations.

Some klan officers and members have records of arrests and convictions on criminal charges both prior to and during their association with the organization. The reputation of many others is scarcely enhanced by their histories of financial irregularities—ranging from petty theft to bad debts—alcoholism, gambling, psychological problems, or association with other extremist groups such as the American Nazi Party.

GRAND DRAGONS OF THE UNITED KLANS OF AMERICA

Close to a dozen of the individuals selected by Imperial Wizard Shelton to head the State subdivisions of his United Klans of America do not have the impeccable records implied by Shelton's public utterances.

The highest official of the United Klans in three States during 1965 had each previously been active in the American Nazi Party. Roy E. Frankhouser, the grand dragon for the United Klan's Realm of Pennsylvania, wore the Nazi party's storm trooper uniform when he distributed Nazi literature on the streets of Philadelphia in December 1962. In the summer of 1963, he distributed the same literature in Lancaster, Pa. The ANP magazine, *Stormtrooper*, issued in the summer of 1965 referred to Frankhouser as an "American Nazi unit organizer" as of April 1965. In connection with his agitation in behalf of extremist groups in 1963, Frankhouser was convicted of disorderly conduct in Arlington, Va., and Baltimore, Md.

Daniel Burros, who as king klegle headed the New York State apparatus until his suicide in October 1965, had been extremely active in both the American Nazi Party and the National Renaissance Party as late as 1963. During 1960, while engaged in Nazi party work, Burros

was convicted in Washington, D.C., on four occasions for disorderly conduct and on a fifth occasion for defacing public property. A 1964 conviction in New York City for conspiracy to riot—involving various officers of the National Renaissance Party in addition to Burros—was subject to an appeal. Committee investigation disclosed that three of Burros' lieutenants in organizing for the United Klans in New York State were also past or present members of American Nazi Party.

Frankhouser invoked constitutional amendments in refusing to answer committee questions on February 10, 1966, regarding his activity in behalf of Nazi and other extremist organizations. A subpoena issued for the appearance of Dan Burros had not been served at the time of his death. The leader of the United Klans in a third State had identified himself to law enforcement officials in the past as a member of the American Nazi Party. This individual was not questioned by the committee in its recent klan hearings, however.

A number of the United Klans grand dragons have regularly carried arms on their person or in their autos. One of them, prior to the assumption of klan office, had been convicted and fined for carrying a pistol and for assault and battery. After becoming grand dragon, the same individual was arrested for a third time on charges of carrying a pistol, shooting in a city and assault and battery. The case did not involve any organized klan activity and its disposition is unknown to the committee.

Two other grand dragons have gained reputations for their indulgence in alcohol and both have been arrested for driving an auto under the influence of intoxicating beverages. The apprehension of one of the men occurred several years prior to his assumption of klan office. At the time of his arrest, he had wrecked an auto which he was driving without the permission of the owner and he was accompanied by a female companion other than his wife. The same individual has an undesirable discharge from the U.S. Army, based on absence without leave.

Grand Dragon Robert E. Scoggin was ensconced in command of the South Carolina organization of the United Klans when he was arrested by Spartanburg, S.C., police on May 29, 1965, and charged with drunk driving and disorderly conduct. Scoggin, who also held the national klan office of imperial kladd in the period 1961-1964, refused to answer questions concerning his klan activity or arrest record when interrogated by the committee on October 28, 1965.

Less than honorable discharges from the armed forces were also received by three additional leaders of State organizations of the United Klans. One grand dragon received a general discharge from the Army for ineptness and lack of adaptability after four courts martial on charges ranging from absence without leave to drunk and disorderly conduct in a public place. The same klan officer had been arrested for reckless driving prior to joining the klan, and while in a lower State office of the United Klans, had again been arrested for disturbing the peace. The head of a UKA State organization holding the title of king kleagle had received a general discharge from the Army after a psychiatric examination led to a conclusion that the individual was unfit for military service. The grand dragon in another State was discharged from the Navy after psychiatric examinations revealed

he suffered from severe anxiety reactions and did not meet minimum standards for enlistment or induction.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

During the committee's recent hearings, three grand dragons of the United Klans were interrogated regarding questionable financial practices. Each refused to answer the committee's questions on grounds of possible self-incrimination.

During the appearance of the aforementioned Grand Dragon Scoggin of South Carolina on October 28, 1965, the committee introduced evidence that the klan official was receiving a \$324 monthly disability compensation from the Veterans Administration. The rate of compensation was based in part upon a finding of "unemployability." Scoggin claimed income of only \$574 during 1964 due to his inability to work "without the use of canes." The income was derived, according to his sworn statement to the VA, by making and selling potholders and fishing flies and through the purchase and sale of used plumbing. Scoggin had filed no income tax return for 1964.

The committee staff then introduced a communication from the police department in Scoggin's hometown of Spartanburg stating that no one in the law enforcement agency knew of Scoggin "ever using a cane" and no canes were relied on by Scoggin at the time of his arrest in May 1965. No canes were in sight when Scoggin testified in Washington. Other documents made part of the hearing record showed that more than \$15,000 had been deposited into Scoggin's two personal bank accounts during the year 1964 when his alleged self-employment income was only a few hundred dollars. It was also established that Scoggin was in fact self-employed as a plumbing and electrical contractor. A grand dragon, furthermore, customarily receives a portion of the dues and initiation fees collected by klaverns in his State. Canceled checks introduced at the committee hearings showed that klavern payments which included payments of a national klan tax had been cashed by Scoggin at a gas station, restaurant, grocery and other Spartanburg stores. Scoggin did not report this type of income to the Veterans' Administration.

Following Scoggin's appearance before the committee, the Veterans' Administration reduced the grand dragon's compensation rate to the amount payable to an "employable" disabled veteran.

The United Klans grand dragon for Mississippi, E. L. McDaniel, had repeated financial difficulties prior to his full-time employment as a State klan leader. McDaniel, who appeared as a witness before the committee on February 3, 1966, was fired by a Natchez, Miss., manufacturing company in 1959 on the technical charge of abusing plant rules and regulations. Actually, he was charged with stealing money from the coin container of an automatic milk dispensing machine. In 1961, while employed by a steel plant in California, McDaniel filed a voluntary petition in bankruptcy and was discharged as bankrupt. Among his unpaid debtors were a finance company, a department store and an auto dealer. McDaniel's entrance into the United Klans was also reportedly motivated by financial difficulties. During 1964, McDaniel had served as a province investigator for the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The committee has been informed that White Knights Imperial Wizard Sam Bowers was

determined to put an end to what he considered abnormally high expense accounts submitted by McDaniel in connection with klan work. The disagreement between Bowers and McDaniel over expenses allegedly propelled McDaniel into joining the rival United Klans of America in September 1964.

Grand Dragon Marshall Robert Kornegay, whose appointment as chief of the Virginia Realm was announced by Imperial Wizard Shelton in August 1965, is a former Raleigh, N.C., insurance salesman. After joining the United Klans in 1964, he became a grand titan for the Raleigh area and in early 1965 was elevated to grand klokard (lecturer) for the North Carolina organization. Kornegay went on the United Klans payroll in the summer of 1965 at a salary of \$150 a week plus expenses. He became a full-time paid klan employee in spite of a record of questionable practices in the insurance business.

Appearing as a witness before the committee on October 21, 1965, the now grand dragon of Virginia refused to comment on reasons for his dismissal from two North Carolina insurance agencies. Kornegay had been fired by one agency in February 1957 after a shortage of some \$342 was discovered in his account of premium collections. His license was subsequently cancelled by the North Carolina Department of Insurance. Some months later, a friend paid the amount owed by Kornegay to the insurance company. However, the committee has learned that this benefactor has never been reimbursed by Kornegay.

Following restoration of his insurance license, Kornegay obtained employment with another insurance company which dismissed him in June of 1965 because of shortages in his accounts totalling approximately \$1435. The sum owed included not only shortages in premium accounts but also bad checks, promissory notes, and bills for non-business telephone calls.

While Kornegay served as an officer in the North Carolina State apparatus of the United Klans in 1964-1965, he was able to make a profit from a group hospital-surgical insurance plan which he promoted within the State klan organization. The committee found that his commissions on sales of such insurance to klansmen amounted to more than \$3500 in a 6-month period, and that additional commissions had been paid to North Carolina Grand Dragon Jones and another State klan officer. The group policies were cancelled when insurance company officials discovered that a klan organization was involved. The resentment of North Carolina klansmen who had purchased such policies reputedly was partially responsible for Kornegay's assignment to the neighboring State of Virginia as grand dragon.

Kornegay has a reputation as a gun-toter and tough talker at klavern meetings. He has talked of the need for beating and killing Negro civil rights demonstrators and klansmen who are too talkative. Late in 1964, he demonstrated incendiary devices to klansmen meeting at his home.

The United Klans grand dragon for Ohio, Flynn Harvey, was an unresponsive witness before the committee on February 11, 1966. Prior to assuming the United Klans post in the spring of 1965, Harvey had served as Ohio grand dragon for the National Knights of the

Ku Klux Klan. An undercover agent within the latter klan testified on February 10, 1966, that Harvey's conduct as leader of the National Knights led members of a Columbus klavern to file written charges against him late in 1964 and to ask for his removal from office. The letter of complaint, which was also made part of the hearing record, accused Harvey of unlawfully using klan funds, making slanderous statements against fellow klansmen, failing to "maintain a sound reputation with his creditors," and "drunkenness."

SOME LESSER OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF UNITED KLANS

Committee investigations revealed that many individuals with police records had not only attained klan membership but also joined the leadership hierarchy in a number of States, both North and South. An unusually high percentage was found in the North Carolina Realm of the United Klans.

Police files on Charles Douglas "Bud" Deese, who was elected State secretary (grand kligrapp) of the United Klans North Carolina organization in January 1964, were entered into the record when he appeared as an unresponsive witness before the committee on October 26, 1965. A month after his election, he had been arrested during a civil rights demonstration and convicted on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon. Arresting officers had also charged him with causing a riot, interfering with a police officer and using indecent and profane language. In June of 1965 he was found guilty of assault on a female. He had been convicted on the same charge in 1962, prior to his elevation to office in the United Klans. His record also included a still earlier conviction on the serious charges of breaking and entering, larceny and robbery.

Donald E. Leazer, who held the post of North Carolina State secretary of the United Klans at the time of his appearance before the committee on October 22, 1965, had been found guilty only 2 months earlier on a charge of carrying a concealed weapon. Fines and a 60-day suspended prison sentence were imposed in this case.

Fred Lee Wilson, State treasurer (grand klabee) for the United Klans of North Carolina at the time he was called as a witness on October 25, 1965, had a reputation as a small time gambler. He purchased wagering tax stamps from the Internal Revenue Service for the fiscal years of 1964 and 1965. The committee was informed that he engaged in a betting operation known as "tip-boards." His police record shows convictions in 1949 for drunkenness and disorderly conduct and for violation of lottery laws. A second conviction for violation of lottery laws in 1960 led to a 6-month suspended prison sentence.

A "titan" was installed in office in the North Carolina klan in spite of a prior record of three 30-day suspended jail sentences on charges of malicious damage. The record was a result of his propensity for hurling objects through the windows of homes and stores. One of his targets was an establishment owned by a Negro whose children attended a desegregated school.

The head of the security guard of the United Klans organization in a Northern State, who also serves as exalted cyclops of a local klavern, is still under parole as a result of the latest in a series of criminal offenses. This individual was arrested on two occasions while still a teenager on charges of auto theft and theft, and he received a

suspended sentence in one instance. As a young adult, he was arrested in 1962 on a charge of carrying and using a dangerous weapon and again in 1963 on a burglary charge. The latter charge resulted in a conviction for unlawful entry and the carrying and use of a dangerous weapon. He was consigned to prison until October 1964, when he was paroled.

Financial chicanery by the exalted cyclops of a klavern of the United Klans in North Carolina was cited by witness George L. Williams as one reason for his own withdrawal from the klan after a 4-month membership in 1965. Williams, who testified on January 28, 1966, explained that the exalted cyclops had borrowed \$500 from an individual on the pretext the sum would be used as cash bond to obtain the release of jailed klansmen. The klavern officer actually used the money for the purchase of a car, and the klan organization repaid the loan to avoid undesirable publicity, Williams said. In this instance, the exalted cyclops forfeited his klan office.

The United Klans, according to its constitution, is "founded on sterling character" and it invites all men "who can qualify" to join the klan and "share with us the glory of performing the sacred duty of protecting womanhood." The words of the klan were contradicted by the performance of a klavern official in Louisiana early in 1966. The officer was convicted in January of attempting aggravated rape on a 13-year-old Negro girl. A recorded interrogation made public during the trial disclosed that the defendant had admitted both the criminal attack and membership in the United Klans. The individual previously served as an officer of a klavern of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The United Klans pose as a protector of womanhood was further damaged when the police of De Kalb Co., Ga., removed 40 guests at a party in a local klavern headquarters in 1963 and booked them on charges of maintaining a disorderly house, later dismissed. The police report detailed obstreperous and immoral behavior at a party attended not only by men and women but also by a number of children between the ages of 5 and 17. Among those who had been arrested were William B. Crowe and William Allison Anderson, who were interrogated by the committee November 1, 1965, regarding information that the two men had served as instructors of a United Klans demolitions course. Crowe's police record dates back to the 1940's, with entries indicating two escapes from prison and an arrest on a charge of drunk and disorderly conduct in a room with a woman.

A group of United Klansmen were arrested and convicted of disorderly conduct for burning a cross in the spring of 1964 in front of a Negro-owned cleaning establishment in Griffin, Ga. A byproduct of the arrest was the discovery of an arsenal of weapons in the cars of klansmen involved in the cross-burning and an astounding police record previously compiled by one of the klansmen, Allen Lee Bayne. Bayne, who owned one of the weapon-laden cars, was discovered to hail from Alabama, where he had spent much of the period from 1947 to 1957 in prison. He had been repeatedly convicted and sentenced for such serious offenses as grand larceny, burglary and receiving stolen property. Penitentiary escapes were also part of his record. Bayne was questioned by the committee during its public hearings on November 2, 1965, and responded by invoking the fifth amendment.

A United Klans grand dragon who resigned from his office and the klan a month prior to his appearance before this committee testified that Imperial Wizard Shelton actually impeded efforts to eliminate less desirable elements from office in the organization. Ralph Pryor, grand dragon for the State of Delaware until his resignation in January 1966, told the committee on February 10 that the vice president and chief organizer of his State klan had been "stealing" from the klan by cashing checks received from persons applying for membership and failing to turn the money into the State office. Pryor said he tried to banish the man but was informed he lacked the authority. His efforts to persuade Shelton to take action met with a hostile reception. More powerful klan officers actually befriended the Delaware vice president, who was eventually assigned to klan work in another geographical area. The former grand dragon also described his unsuccessful effort to get rid of an obvious sex deviate holding office in the Delaware klan, and the cold response from higher klan officers when he protested entrance of Nazis into the klan leadership. Pryor eventually came to the conclusion that the klan was full of unstable little men looking for power.

INDIVIDUALS ACTIVE IN SMALLER KLANs

A number of officers and members of smaller klan organizations questioned by the committee in public hearing were found to have far from impeccable records.

Although the Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan claim to unite those whose "habits are exemplary," the Imperial Wizard Sam Bowers has been arrested and convicted of a local offense involving possession of intoxicating liquor.

Deavours Nix was named grand director of the White Knights Klan Bureau of Investigation in June 1965, despite a record of an arrest and fine for assault in 1962 and another arrest on the same charge in 1964, disposition of which is unknown. Within 2 months after his elevation to chief of the KBI, Nix was twice more arrested for assault, but charges were eventually dismissed in both cases. In February 1966, however, Nix received a 30-day jail sentence and \$150 fine on charges which included resisting arrest, carrying a concealed weapon and speeding. He is presently also under indictment in connection with the slaying of civil rights leader Vernon Dahmer on January 10, 1966.¹ Both Bowers and Nix invoked the fifth amendment when questioned by the committee on February 1, 1966.

Edward Willard Fuller in 1964 and early 1965 was exalted cyclops of a White Knights klavern in a Louisiana town near the Mississippi border. Later in 1965, he joined the United Klans of America. The committee questioned Fuller on January 4, 1966, regarding his arrest in connection with a shot-gun assault on a Negro in April 1964. Committee investigation has also revealed that Fuller is a gambler by trade and has been employed as manager of a roadhouse where the specialties of the house include gambling and prostitution. The committee obtained statements by two different individuals regarding beatings allegedly administered to them by Fuller early in 1965. In one of the cases, Fuller was further accused of firing a gun into the man's auto. Late in 1965, Fuller was arrested for aggravated assault, but the dis-

¹ See p. 123 for further reference to this case.

position of the case is not known to the committee. Fuller has a record of nine arrests between 1947 and 1958, with no known convictions. The charges involved investigation for rape, finally dismissed, drunkenness, fighting and disorderly, carrying concealed weapons, gambling and reckless driving.

The acting head of another presently-operating klan has in the past received a 30-day jail sentence on charges of reckless driving, collision and drunkenness. The top official of yet another recently-formed klan has previously been convicted of armed robbery and carrying a concealed weapon.

That klan leaders do not consider police records a barrier to a career with the klan was strikingly demonstrated by Imperial Wizard James Venable's testimony before the committee. Venable stated he had served as legal counsel for Colbert Raymond McGriff and Earl Holcombe when they were arrested and convicted of disorderly conduct in the spring of 1964 as a result of burning a cross in front of a Negro dry cleaning establishment in Griffin, Ga. Venable acknowledged that the defendants were members of the rival United Klans at the time he represented them but were later accepted into the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which Venable heads. Holcombe and McGriff served on a "degree team" which administered oaths to new members at rallies held at Oregonia, Ohio, in June 1965 and Stone Mountain, Ga., in September 1965. They also served as security guards at a klan rally near Lodi, Ohio, in September. Venable furthermore had supplied Holcombe with klan membership applications and blank klavern charters bearing the imperial wizard's signature for the purpose of organizing new National Knights klaverns in the State of Georgia.

In December 1965, Holcombe and McGriff were arrested in Crawfordville, Ga., on a charge of pointing a weapon at another. The disposition of the case is not known to the committee. The two men appeared as witnesses at committee hearings in February 1966, at which time they were also questioned regarding their involvement in the transport of dynamite from Georgia to Ohio in the summer of 1965.² Both men refused to answer committee questions on grounds which included possible self-incrimination.

Two witnesses who were members of the Ohio organization of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had recently been arrested for armed robbery. Verlin U. Gilliam, also admittedly the vice president of a Columbus, Ohio, klavern, and Daniel N. Wagner had been arrested for robbing a Columbus merchant in August 1965. They appeared before the committee on February 11, 1966, and the following October were tried and convicted of the robbery charge. Wagner, admitting participation in the crime, received a 1 to 25 year prison sentence. Gilliam, who did not admit guilt, was sentenced to 10 to 25 years in the Ohio penitentiary.

Wagner had testified frankly before the committee. In addition to his activities in behalf of the klan, he acknowledged an arrest as a juvenile for burglary and petty larceny; an undesirable discharge from the Army in 1964 on charges including possession of unlawful weapon and attempted escape from an Army stockade; and an arrest in Ohio in May 1965 for carrying a concealed weapon at a klan rally. Gilliam

² See also p. 111.

invoked constitutional privileges against self-incrimination in response to many questions about the klan. The committee learned he had previously received a 5-year sentence for armed robbery in California and had made an escape from San Quentin prison farm while serving that sentence.

Another individual closely associated with the National Knights in Georgia was incarcerated in the summer of 1965 on charges based on his involvement in an alleged counterfeit ring and a personal assault.

A 33-year-old member of the United Florida Ku Klux Klan, who was admittedly involved in organized klan violence in 1964, had been "in trouble" since the age of 12. He periodically ran away from home and was rated incorrigible by school authorities. In school psychiatric tests, he expressed a hatred for his parents. By 18, he had been convicted and sentenced to jail for burglary. Eight years later he was again sentenced to prison for aiding and abetting a jail break. In the interim, he had also served a sentence on a drunk charge. Psychiatric and other interviews of the man while he was in his twenties revealed acute anti-social reactions, lack of confidence, an excessive drinking problem and a violent dislike for Negroes.

WHO IS IN THE KLAN AND WHY

Former United Klans Grand Dragon Pryor had viewed klan leaders as unstable little men looking for power. Another former grand dragon confidentially informed the committee that he believed the leaders primarily valued the klan as a money-making enterprise. To an undercover agent within the National Knights organization in a Northern State, the leaders appeared to be activated by hatreds—of the Negro and communism—and under the illusion they could eliminate people they didn't like.

It appears to the committee that ku klux klan organizations offer at least four basic attractions to its officers: (1) financial rewards; (2) an opportunity to exercise authority over others; (3) publicity; and (4) an outlet for extremists' views and hatreds.

The record shows that the United Klans of America provided full-time paid employment for Imperial Wizard Shelton and at least six of his grand dragons. Several of the grand dragons could also drive around in Cadillacs, and in at least one case the auto was admittedly a gift from rank-and-file klansmen.

Although the committee's information on the background of klan leaders is by no means complete, available records indicate that at least a half-dozen of the individuals who served as grand dragons of the United Klans were high school drop-outs. One dragon's education was limited to elementary school. Three dragons were known to have finished high school and only one person—who for a short period headed the organization in a Northern State—possessed a college degree. Imperial Wizard Shelton was dropped by the University of Alabama for poor scholarship after he obtained failing grades in every subject for two semesters.

Age-wise, the imperial wizard and most of his State klan leaders are in their thirties. Several active independent klans in Louisiana and Mississippi are headed by men in their forties. A number of other

less successful klans are under the direction of men in their fifties and sixties or older, several of whom were virtually incapacitated by physical ailments.

The bulk of the klans' rank-and-file membership, a former United Klans official from a Southern State testified, is drawn from uneducated elements of the population who have never attained the social status they would like to achieve. Such persons are also seeking comradeship but would not be at home in civic clubs such as Rotary and the like, this witness observed. An additional motivation attributed to those who join the klan is hatred for Negroes, Jews and Catholics—a motive which allegedly was increasingly important "the deeper South you go." The ex-klan officer blamed such hatreds on a "kind of brainwashing." Committee investigation tended to confirm this assessment.

Two rank-and-file klansmen who testified in the committee's public hearings gave substantially similar reasons for their entrance into and eventual departure from klan organizations. George L. Williams, a 45-year-old welder, joined the United Klans at one of its cow pasture rallies in North Carolina in the summer of 1965. After listening to the speakers, he signed up because he believed the klan could "get the colored out of the schools," keep the races from mixing, and "kind of hold down the colored from mixing in the South."

Williams quit the klan before the year was out, after witnessing klan beatings and financial chicanery on the part of klan officials. "I believe now," Williams told the committee, "that klan life is the lowest life that you can get."

John H. Gipson, a 30-year-old logger with a seventh grade education, joined the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Louisiana in 1963 on the presumption that klan goals would be pursued by ballots, boycotts and economic pressure, but not with violence. Before he left the organization, Gipson himself was an admitted participant in a klan-organized flogging of a white man who was accused of neglecting his family.

Although much attention has been devoted to the blemished records of many persons attracted to klan organizations, testimony from witnesses and other evidence gathered during the committee's investigation show that in some communities klans enrolled persons with considerable education and with responsible positions in governmental or business affairs in their community. Klan infiltration of law enforcement agencies and elected governmental offices has been discussed in a preceding chapter. In the testimony of Williams and Gipson, klan membership was ascribed to a chief of police, a justice of the peace, a preacher and a junior high school principal. Gipson identified the principal as being an exalted cyclops of a klavern of the Original Knights. The individual eventually abandoned his klan office, but not the klan, for fear of losing his school post. Committee investigation disclosed klansmen professing to be ministers of the gospel in many States. Klansmen also held such positions as municipal judge, school board member, State highway department employe and city engineer. A number of owners of local business establishments as well as an active civic leader were found in the klan. And the head of a volunteer fire department was discovered to be in charge of cross-burnings conducted by his local klavern.

Only a small proportion of the individuals identified as klansmen held positions of responsibility in their communities, however. The committee is aware, nevertheless, that the klan has received financial and moral support from a number of persons of some prominence in their own communities who have rejected klan membership only for reasons of expediency. A United Klans klavern in North Carolina encouraged such support with a letter which declared:

We know that you would like to become a member of your local Klan, but due to your business or other reasons you cannot afford to. * * *

We would like you to know that you can help fight for the freedom of all whites just as hundreds of others are doing, by making a donation to your local Klu [sic] Klux Klan unit. * * *

Your donation will be of top secret and will not be revealed to anyone.

The klavern's letter instructed that checks be made payable to an innocuous-sounding front name which the klavern utilized—the "Caldwell Improvement Association."

Ex-klansman Gipson testified that the presence of a minister or school officer in the klan served as a powerful attraction for new members. Both Gipson and Williams agreed, however, that most of the more responsible individuals tended to drop out of the klan after they found out what they were actually involved in. In Gipson's opinion, in fact, the entire rank-and-file membership of the Original Knights was subject to a rapid turn-over.

CHAPTER VIII: SUMMARY

The present-day ku klux klan movement, unlike the monolithic klan of old, is comprised of at least 17 separate and independent klan organizations. Its more than 16,000 adherents are attached to hundreds of local units (klaverns), most of which are located in the States which formerly comprised the Southern Confederacy.

Committee investigations and hearings into the activities of the major klans demonstrated nevertheless that klans operate—today as in the past—as conspiracies to deprive certain citizens of rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Klans moreover have continued to rely on terrorism as an instrument for achieving so-called “white supremacy” and other objectives. This terrorism runs the gamut from telephoned threats or intimidatory cross-burnings to various forms of physical violence. Klan involvement in kidnappings and beatings, arson, bombings, and outright murder in recent years compels the committee to view a klan as a vehicle for death, destruction, and fear.

Arrests of klan officers and members frequently have led to the uncovering of caches of arms. In addition to rifles, shotguns, and handguns in quantity, klansmen maintained stocks of explosive devices. Klan units have sponsored courses of instruction for their members in the use of firearms and the art of demolition. Robert M. Shelton, the imperial wizard of the United Klans of America, has himself attended such a course.

Public disavowal of violent intent by klan officials are unworthy of credence in light of other statements by the same leaders and the actions of klansmen on both officer and rank-and-file levels. A study of the evidence amassed during the committee's investigation leads to the conclusion that klans and their leaders actually incite disrespect for the law and encourage acts of violence.

This report has taken note of the public activities engaged in by some klans for the purpose of increasing the size of their treasuries and obtaining new recruits. The report shows how even legal klan activity, such as speech-making, picketing, literature distribution, boycotting and “politicking,” has sometimes had the calculated effect of goading sympathizers into committing acts of violence. The bulk of a klan's activity, however—and that which is most menacing to the rule of law and maintenance of order—is zealously shrouded from public scrutiny.

Secrecy becomes a way of life for a klansman from the moment he takes a series of oaths customarily administered upon his entrance into a klan. In addition to obedience to klan officers, a klansman swears to protect the secrecy of the order. The committee found that, in practice, the oath binds klansmen into protecting law violators within the klan, no matter how heinous their crimes.

The secrecy which cloaks a klan organization is essential to the success of klan vigilantes who take it upon themselves to accuse, convict and punish fellow citizens for behavior disapproved by the klan.

Secrecy has also facilitated infiltration of klansmen into positions of public trust. The committee found concealed members of klans in elected and appointed offices in State and other local governmental subdivisions. The proven presence of klansmen in local law enforcement agencies, although relatively few in number, was particularly disturbing in view of the conflict between the klan oath and oaths to uphold the law.

The only objective which klans advance with any degree of sincerity is their proclaimed determination to maintain racial segregation and “white supremacy.” Self-portraits of klans as patriotic organizations fighting communism and defending the Constitution (and even all of “Christian civilization”) must be regarded as efforts to deceive the public. Klan activity actually constitutes an impediment to the advancement of such goals.

According to witnesses before this committee, an individual assumes leadership in a klan for one, or a combination, of these motives: financial rewards; opportunity to exercise power over others; publicity; an outlet for extremists' views and hatreds.

The committee discovered that a substantial number of officers and members of klan organizations possessed disreputable backgrounds. In a number of instances, klansmen were involved in felonies, prior to or during their association with a klan. Other klansmen had histories of petty theft, bad debts, alcoholism, gambling, psychological problems, and/or associations with other extremist groups such as the American Nazi Party. Speaking generally, a klansman does not represent the average citizen of an American community but a community's lowest common denominator.

Although a klan can occasionally draw such respected professionals as high school principals, ministers, lawyers, and public officials, for the most part klan membership fits the description of it contained in a recent opinion by a three-judge Federal court involving members of the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

None of the defendant klansmen is a leader in his community. As a group, they do not appear to be representative of a cross-section of the community. Instead they appear to be ignorant bullies, callous of the harm they know they are doing and lacking in sufficient understanding to comprehend the chasm between their own twisted Konstitution and the noble charter of liberties under law that is the American Constitution.¹

The fanatical nature of klan programs and policies obviously encourages enlistment of the least responsible elements in a community. The klan system of organization also facilitates their admission, even if a klan leader were to emerge with serious intentions of employing a “screening” system to prevent the admission of undesirables other than Government “informers.” The committee found that many klan leaders exercise little control over the activities of local klaverns. Strict security procedures adopted by klans to protect their membership from public disclosure have at the same time deprived top klan officers of information as to the identity of the bulk of klan membership.

¹ Opinion Issued Dec. 1, 1965, by U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, New Orleans division.

The present-day ku klux klan movement has inherited its organizational structure to a great extent from Col. William Simmons' Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The adroit use of publicity and exploitation of the organization for moneymaking purposes—which were characteristics of Simmons' klan in the years following World War I—have been emulated, albeit less successfully, by such modern organizations as the United Klans of America and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Klan ritual devised and emphasized by Simmons has fallen into virtual disuse, however. The preoccupation of present klans with racial issues has undoubtedly contributed to their remaining a regional movement, by and large. In these respects, currently operating klans resemble their hooded brethren of the post-Civil War era.

KLAN ORGANIZATIONS AND THE STATES

A number of klans possess corporate charters issued by various States. The klan customarily advises the State in its application for charter that it is a fraternal organization operating not for profit but for charitable and benevolent or educational purposes.

In possession of charters from the State of Georgia are the United Klans of America, Inc., the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., the U.S. Klans, and the Improved Order of the U.S. Klans. The State of Tennessee has chartered the Dixie Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, while Louisiana has issued a charter to the Original Ku Klux Klan of America, Inc.

The refusal of such States as Texas and Ohio to issue charters to klan organizations has not prevented klans from organizing and recruiting in those States.

A New York statute requires klans to disclose their officers and members to the secretary of state. In spite of this provision of law, the United Klans organized within the State without meeting the statutory requirement.

Two of the chartered klans, the United Klans of America and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, obtained certificates of authority to do business as a "foreign corporation" in the State of North Carolina in July 1965. The United Klans had actually been in business in the State for four years prior to the filing of this application with the North Carolina secretary of state.

Its application provided additional evidence, as shown below, of the UKA's contradictory stances on the relationship of its State organizations to its national structure. It informed the North Carolina secretary of state that the State grand dragon, J. R. Jones, was to be considered the registered agent in the State for a klan whose "principal" office was Shelton's headquarters in Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Grand Dragon Jones, on July 20, 1965, filed franchise tax reports with the North Carolina Department of Revenue covering the fiscal years 1964 and 1965. Copies of these returns, introduced in evidence during the committee's public klan hearings, showed that Grand Dragon Jones had affirmed that the North Carolina organization of the klan had no assets and no liabilities.

Other evidence introduced into the committee hearing record, however, demonstrated that this affirmation was false. Committee investigation disclosed that, following Jones' election as grand dragon in January 1964, he received thousands of dollars from the sale of klan robes. Klan funds were also used to purchase for him a Cadillac automobile and a truck used at klan rallies. Two bank accounts in the name

of the North Carolina Realm had deposits in excess of \$20,000. At the same time, per capita taxes on membership were being deposited into the grand dragon's personal bank account or cashed by him at gasoline stations and other business establishments. In addition, nearly 200 klaverns which were known to have operated in North Carolina had income which, in the aggregate, was probably in the neighborhood of \$100,000. Many of the klaverns, furthermore, owned or were in the process of purchasing valuable real estate.

Despite this, as already noted in this report, Imperial Wizard Shelton stated to a representative of the U.S. Internal Revenue Service that Federal taxes were not payable by the North Carolina Realm because it was not an "organization" and had no funds, income, or expenses. In addition, Shelton failed to include income from the North Carolina Realm on corporate tax returns filed with the Federal Government on behalf of the national klan organization.

Thus a State organization is represented by the klan as autonomous, or as a mere geographical subdivision, depending on which view best serves klan needs of the moment. Denial of assets and liabilities not only eliminates tax payments but also the disclosure of locations of klaverns and the identity of klansmen charged with financial responsibilities on State or local levels. By giving the appearance of complying with Federal and State laws governing corporate organizations, klans can assume an air of legality while taking care that the bulk of their membership and operations remains submerged from public view.

Acts of physical violence engaged in by klansmen are, of course, punishable under the criminal laws of every State. A survey² of statutes in the 11 Southern States which were members of the Confederacy showed that all but one³ also have antimasking laws, directly designed to curb klan-type terrorism. In a number of these States (Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina and Virginia, for example), there are laws regulating cross-burnings. The States of Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia have additional laws penalizing acts of terrorism and intimidation usually associated with klans, whether or not disguises are worn.

North Carolina statutes include a prohibition against the formation of and membership in secret "political" societies and secret "military" societies which have as a purpose the violation or circumvention of State laws. All types of secret societies in the State are furthermore required by law to post plainly visible signs outside their meeting places, identifying the organization and its secretary or other officer.

Many municipalities have also enacted laws specifically related to klan-type activity.

FEDERAL ACTIONS INVOLVING KLANSMEN

In the recent past, the U.S. Department of Justice has prosecuted members of various klan organizations for violation of sections of the Criminal Code (title 18 of the United States Code).

Section 241 of title 18 (Conspiracy Against Rights of Citizens) provides:

If two or more persons conspire to injure, oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him

² Murray, Pauli, Ed., "States' Laws on Race and Color," 1952, and Supplement, 1955, were consulted, in addition to indexes to State codes.

³ Mississippi is the exception.

by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or because of his having so exercised the same; or

If two or more persons go in disguise on the highway, or on the premises of another, with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured—

They shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both.

A Federal indictment filed October 16, 1964, as previously mentioned, charged Herbert Guest, James Lackey, Cecil William Myers, Denver W. Phillips, Joseph Howard Sims, and George Hampton Turner with violations of section 241. All of these men were members of the United Klans of America, operating in the area of Athens, Ga., and the indictment accused them of conspiracy to violate the civil rights of Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn, who was murdered on a Georgia highway in July 1964. Two of the above-named defendants, Sims and Myers, had been brought to trial in a State court on murder charges and acquitted by a jury in September 1964. The U.S. Supreme Court, in a decision of March 28, 1966,⁴ upheld the right of the Federal Government to prosecute the defendants under section 241 of title 18 of the United States Code. In a trial subsequent to this decision, Sims and Myers were convicted on these Federal conspiracy charges and the remaining four defendants were acquitted.

On March 28, 1966, the Supreme Court had also agreed⁵ that the Federal Government had jurisdiction to prosecute a group of Mississippi terrorists under sections 241 and 242 of title 18 of the United States Code. The defendants included officials of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and three law-enforcement officers, who were charged with conspiracy to violate the civil rights of three civil rights workers found murdered near Philadelphia, Miss., in the summer of 1964. Trial of the defendants in Federal court is still pending. Section 242 of title 18 of the United States Code provides that:

Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States, or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

Another milestone in Federal legal action against klan terrorism was reached in December 1965 when a three-judge Federal court in New Orleans, La., issued an injunction ordering the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and "its dummy front," the Anti-Communist Christian Association, to halt acts of terror and intimidation in Bogalusa, La. In an opinion delivered prior to the injunction order, the court stated:

In deciding to grant the injunction prayed for, we rest our conclusions on the finding of fact that, within the meaning of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1964, the defendants have adopted a pattern and practice of intimidating, threatening, and coercing Negro citizens in Washington Parish for the purpose of interfering with the civil rights of the Negro citizens.

Various forms of klan intimidation, including acts of physical violence, were recounted in the opinion, which indicated that the terrorism was specifically directed at interference with rights of Negroes to

⁴ U.S. v. Guest.

⁵ U.S. v. Price.

use public facilities and public accommodations, to register and vote, and to obtain equal employment opportunities.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS ON KLAN ORGANIZATIONS

The Committee on Un-American Activities voted on March 30, 1965, to proceed with a full-scale investigation and hearings with respect to ku klux klan organizations in the United States. The vote followed a report by Chairman Willis on the results of a preliminary staff study of the klan movement. In announcing the committee's decision, Chairman Willis declared:

Based on the committee's preliminary study, it is my conviction that klanism is incompatible with Americanism, that it is doing injury to our Nation and, in particular to the South which it claims to protect and defend. I am convinced that the South and the entire Nation will be much better off if all klan influence is ended, once and for all.

The committee's investigation culminated in a series of public hearings which began on October 19, 1965, and concluded February 24, 1966. Present or former officers of klan organizations comprised the bulk of witnesses interrogated at these hearings, which have been termed "investigative hearings" to distinguish them from committee hearings in July 1966 on proposed new Federal laws to curb the type of terrorism documented in the investigative hearings.

When the subcommittee conducting the hearings recessed on November 9, 1965, Congressman Willis, chairman of the subcommittee as well as the full committee, made the following assessment of the results of testimony received in 1965:

Already, there have been positive results flowing from this investigation. The so-called Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klans is no longer so invisible. There have been defections from this empire. The Federal Communications Commission has undertaken a study of the misuse of citizens band radios, and I am sure that other agencies of the executive branch will want to take action as a result of some of the facts developed by the committee. It is our intention, in due time, to submit certain parts of our record to the Internal Revenue Service, the FCC, and the Veterans' Administration, for example, for appropriate action. * * *

Previous chapters of this report have called attention to apparent violations of Internal Revenue laws in the filing of tax returns by klan officers. The use of high-frequency citizens band radios, which the committee demonstrated were employed by klansmen to avoid detection when holding secret conclaves or engaging in acts of terrorism, require licenses issued by the Federal Communications Commission. Another Federal agency, the Alcohol and Tobacco Tax Division of the Treasury Department, issues licenses to gun dealers, in whose ranks were klansmen who proceeded to make firearms available to other klansmen at low prices and who did not keep records which would betray the identity of the klansmen purchasers. By appearing as a witness without the use of canes, a United Klans grand dragon added to evidence which the committee had gathered regarding his efforts to deceive the Veterans' Administration. The klan officer had been receiving a sizable monthly disability compensation from that Government agency.

Following the close of the committee's public investigative hearings, the committee extended its full cooperation to all agencies of Govern-

ment—Federal and State—which expressed interest in the product of its investigative endeavors.

The committee conducted its investigations and public hearings ever mindful that its primary responsibility is to inform the U.S. Congress on the nature and extent of problems arising out of current ku klux klan activity in the various States. With the information now at its command, the Congress is in a better position to evaluate the necessity for remedial legislation in this field.

The committee is hopeful that its published hearings and this report will also contribute to a better appreciation on the part of the American public of the evil inherent in modern klancraft.

At the close of the committee's investigative hearings on February 24, 1966, Congressman Weltner noted that most of the members of the subcommittee conducting the hearings represented Southern States. He appealed to citizens of that region to look at the facts and determine "whether or not the Klan is going to govern community affairs in the South, or whether it will be the people of the South." He continued:

So, the challenge now passes from Congress and it is placed directly into the hands of the people of the South. I for one am confident that Southern people are anxious to make their own decisions; that they desire the democratic processes to be operative; and they desire that the problems of the South, however pressing and compelling they may be, be determined within the framework of the Constitution of the United States, in accordance with the laws of the United States and in accordance with the free expression of public opinion.

I do not believe that Southerners really want to turn those decisions over to any group of hooded, hidden, terroristic, anonymous men.

After observing that klan officials had for the most part remained silent in response to committee questioning, another member of the subcommittee, Congressman Buchanan, declared that the subcommittee was forced to certain conclusions regarding klan organizations:

We are, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the traditional ugly image of the Ku Klux Klan is essentially valid—preaching love and peace, yet practicing hatred and violence; claiming fidelity to the Constitution, yet systematically abrogating the constitutional rights of other citizens—indeed, the very constitutional rights and privileges they themselves cling to and have hidden behind in the course of these hearings; and taking the law into their own hands to pass judgment and administer penalties. Their record seems clearly one of moral bankruptcy and of staggering hypocrisy.

Congressman Pool, as acting chairman of the subcommittee, summarized the hearing record:

As far as I am concerned, and all members of the subcommittee share my view, the conduct of Klansmen and Klan leaders both on the witness stand and outside the hearing room—and the facts placed in this hearing record—have completely exploded the Klan's phony claims about 100 percent Americanism, patriotism, their being law-abiding, and so forth.

The record is not a pretty one. It is a record of floggings, beatings, killings, of talk of and plans to assassinate public figures and others for no other reason than the color of their skin or the fact that they disapprove of the ideas, policies, and activities of the Klans. It is a record of the activities of sneaky, cowardly men, taking advantage of the cover of night and superiority in numbers to intimidate and do physical violence to young and old, male and female. It is a record of hatred, a record of double-dealing, of quarreling and fighting over spoils, of leaders deceiving followers, a record that no real American could be proud of.

The dangers which an unrestrained and growing klan movement poses to a free and democratic society were described to members of the

House of Representatives by the committee's chairman on April 14, 1965. Chairman Willis declared on this occasion that:

Any group that engages in organized, large-scale intimidation in the political, economic and social fields and terrorizes individuals and groups attacks the very root of the democratic process. It does so because it destroys freedom and, without free citizens, our representative form of government is not secure and cannot be preserved.

When large numbers of people in any part of our country, regardless of race, color or religion, fear physical, economic or social injury if they dare to speak as they honestly feel, to patronize such businesses as they wish, to vote unhesitatingly for any candidate of their choice, then, I say, the very foundation of our form of government is being attacked, weakened and undermined. If such a condition is allowed to continue and to spread, it could lead eventually to the end of the form of government guaranteed by our Constitution and to the imposition of a national tyranny based on fear in its stead.

Democracy cannot coexist with terror. The two are incompatible. One or the other must go.

In view of klan incursions into Northern as well as Southern States, and very recent membership increases in States located on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line, the committee herewith appeals for a rejection of klans and their methods by all citizens of these United States.